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Korean Immigrant Adolescents' Engagement with the Internet: Understanding the Importance of Cultural Orientations and Bicultural Competence

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Korean Immigrant Adolescents' Engagement with the Internet: Understanding the Importance of Cultural Orientations and Bicultural Competence

by

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Dedication

To my parents,

for their infinite love and support.

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Korean Immigrant Adolescents' Engagement with the Internet: Understanding the Importance of Cultural Orientations and Bicultural Competence

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The research questions of this study explore, first, the general patterns of Internet access and engagement among Korean immigrant adolescents, and second, the relationships between the adolescents' culture-specific online activities and their (a) Korean cultural orientation, (b) American cultural orientation, and (c) bicultural competence. The separate examinations of Korean and American cultural orientations and the consideration of bicultural competence are based on the bicultural model to immigrant's cross-cultural adjustment, which asserts that cultural orientations to the host and home countries develop and operate independently. Both types of cultural orientation

are considered to be multidimensional, involving five distinct processes: cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, knowledge of popular culture, language proficiency, and cultural social support. Finally, a number of different culture-specific online activities—i.e., email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking activities performed on both Korean-language and English-language websites—are considered based on the assumption that different activities will engage different types and levels of cultural orientations and bicultural competence. The research questions are addressed by analyses of data collected through a quantitative survey of 168 Korean immigrant teenagers residing in Texas.

The findings of this study demonstrate that these young Korean immigrants are privileged and active users of the Internet. Their online engagement is influenced by common youth-oriented interests as well as by their cultural orientations toward Korean and American cultures. Specifically, different types of culture-specific online activities invoke different aspects of the adolescents' Korean and American orientations. In particular, the multiple dimensions of American (*vs.* Korean) orientation are more commonly associated with culture-specific online activities in general, negatively predicting Korean-website activities while positively predicting English-website activities. Of the multiple dimensions, knowledge of popular culture is most commonly associated with culture-specific online activities, while language proficiency is least associated. Further, levels of engagement with culture-specific online activities differ across groups of differing levels of bicultural competence. Particularly, individuals who are biculturally competent across multiple cultural orientation dimensions experience

more engaged and diverse online experiences within English-language websites. This study offers theoretical and methodological implications for research on youth and online media and research on immigrants' cross-cultural adjustment.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The level of diversity in the population of the United States has increased rapidly over the past several decades particularly due to a consistent increase of migrants from abroad. Over the years many scholars have attempted to understand the nature of this diversity. Many of these attempts have involved studying the processes of intercultural contact and change that immigrants experience within the United States. In particular, scholars have recognized the significant role that mass media play in this process through extensive investigation into the relationships between immigrants' media use and their experiences of the host society. With the increasing diffusion of the Internet, new communication and cultural spaces that span across national borders have been created. These spaces potentially allow immigrants to expand their media experience, ultimately expanding their sources of information, entertainment, and communication. However, much has yet to be revealed about how these virtual spaces permeate the lives of immigrants.

The significance of studying immigrants' engagement with the online world becomes more pertinent in the case of adolescents. The Internet has become the most dominant and influential medium among today's adolescents in general, and scholars are increasingly identifying various advantageous skills that can be acquired through active engagement with the Internet (e.g., Ito et al., 2008; Jackson et al., 2006; Jenkins, 2007; Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, Kraut, & Gross, 2002). This body of research further argues that the impact of these acquired skills is not confined to technical, computer skills, but

extends into developmental, academic, social, cultural, and political skills that can be applied to broader social contexts. Therefore, in order to ensure that youth are getting the most out of their experience with the technology, it becomes crucial to first comprehend the common and varied ways in which they are accessing and engaging with this technology.

An extensive scope of research over the recent years has produced a significant amount of knowledge regarding the general nature and levels of online access and engagement among adolescents. Nevertheless, not much attention has been granted to the online practices of teenagers of immigrant backgrounds. The little research that we do have is confined to cross-cultural comparisons across different ethnic/national groups and tends to focus on identifying the demographic characteristics associated with online access and engagement (e.g., Bonfadelli, Bucher, & Piga, 2007; Louie, 2003). However, such understanding is insufficient in understanding the particularly complex and dynamic socio-cultural context in which such online practices take place for immigrant adolescents.

Previous research addressing immigrants' experiences of cross-cultural adjustment further directs our attention to the critical roles of immigrant adolescents' socio-cultural characteristics. In particular, the *bicultural model* of cross-cultural adjustment delineates the complex nature of immigrants' cultural orientations toward both the host and home cultures as well as the multidimensional processes that define one's orientations (e.g., Berry, 1997; Birman, 1998; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Additionally, studies concerned with immigrant adults' interactions with media

further direct our attention to the acculturative as well as ethnicity-affirming influences to and effects of media use. Collectively, the existing literature emphasizes the significance of studying immigrant adolescents' media use in the context of their individual, immigrant experiences.

Based on the current state of knowledge regarding adolescents' engagement with the Internet and immigrants' experiences with media in general, this study sets multiple goals. First, it aims to contribute to the current literature, which has primarily focused on adolescents of the cultural mainstream or adults of ethnic-minority, immigrant backgrounds, by offering a portrait of the context and nature of online practices that take place among ethnic-minority, immigrant adolescents. Second, the study aims to illustrate the ways in which individuals' cultural backgrounds and experiences inform their engagement with the online world, while also highlighting the cultural complexities and variations that characterize co-ethnic individuals and their media practices. In order to achieve these goals, this study focuses on the conditions and nature of online practices among Korean[1] immigrant adolescents in the US—an understudied population in the field of media and communication, despite its increasing presence in the US (Terrazas, 2009) and its reputation for being one of the most well-connected and active online user groups among the US population (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1999).

Accordingly, the key research questions of this study explore, first, the general patterns of Internet access and engagement among Korean immigrant adolescents, and

[1] Almost all Koreans in the US originate from South Korea (Terrazas, 2009). Therefore, this study focuses on Korean immigrants who trace their roots back to South Korea and refers to this population as "Koreans" or "Korean-Americans." For brevity's sake, South Korea will also be referred to as "Korea."

second, the relationships between the adolescents' culture-specific Internet activities and their (a) Korean cultural orientation, (b) American cultural orientation, and (c) bicultural competence. The separate examination of Korean and American cultural orientations and the consideration of bicultural competence is based on the assumptions of the bicultural model to immigrant's cross-cultural adjustment, which asserts that cultural orientations to the host and home countries develop and operate independently (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; LaFromboise et al., 1993). Both types of cultural orientation are further considered to be multidimensional, involving five distinct processes: cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, knowledge of popular culture, language proficiency, and cultural social support. Finally, a number of different culture-specific online activities (i.e., email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking activities performed on both Korean-language and English-language websites) are considered based on the assumption that different activities engage different types and levels of cultural orientations and bicultural competence. The research questions are addressed by analyses of data which were collected through a quantitative survey of 168 South Korean immigrant teenagers—middle and high school students—living in Texas.

The study is expected to contribute to the general literature of digital media, youth media, and immigrants' cross-cultural adjustment in various ways. First, new insights will be gained about the varied daily experiences and media experiences of Korean immigrant adolescents, a population left under the public radar due to popular conceptions of Koreans as a model minority and digital elite. Second, by incorporating the bicultural model of cross-cultural adjustment, the study is expected to contribute to

theoretical understandings and empirical measurements of immigrants' cultural orientations as non-linear and multidimensional processes. Third, by exemplifying the role of individuals' ethnic and cultural characteristics in defining adolescents' media behaviors, the current study is expected to complement findings of previous studies that have mainly focused on differences accounted for by demographic factors. Finally, by demonstrating the varied types and levels of online engagement found among adolescents of varying bicultural competence, the study is expected to introduce a new dimension of exploration for researchers and educators who are devoted to understanding the underlying processes that motivate and ensure constructive online experiences among adolescents.

Chapter 2 begins with a clarification of some of the concepts used in the study and continues with a review of the current literature regarding adolescents' access to and engagement with the Internet, which serves to identify crucial points of research. This review is followed by contextual information required to better understand the significance of studying immigrant adolescents and adolescents of Korean heritage in particular. The chapter continues with an analytical review of the existing theoretical and empirical understandings of immigrants' experiences and their use of media. Based on these reviews, the chapter concludes with a statement of the research questions for this study. Chapter 3 provides a description of the study's data collection method, sample, and instrumentation. Chapter 4 addresses the research questions by presenting the descriptive findings produced from the data. Primarily based on the empirical and theoretical knowledge established in the existing literature, Chapter 5 provides a more close and

thorough interpretation of the findings. The concluding Chapter 6 discusses the broader theoretical and methodological implications of the study, while also addressing the study's limitations and providing recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the current literature regarding adolescents' access to and engagement with the Internet as well as the literature regarding immigrants' overall experiences and their use of media. It further provides contextual information required to better understand the significance of studying immigrant adolescents and adolescents of Korean background in particular. The research questions for the study are presented toward the end of the chapter, based on an understanding of the limitations of the current literature.

BASIC TERMINOLOGY

Many of the researchers who write about immigrants' cross-cultural adjustment experiences use similar terminology in different ways. There is not a clear consensus among researchers nor do researchers provide clear conceptualizations of the terms that they use. For the sake of clarity, this section provides a brief description of how the key terms involved in this study are used.

Immigrants

According to the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), the term *immigrant* is commonly used to refer to those members of the US population who were born overseas with no US citizenship at birth, regardless of one's migration status as naturalized citizen, legal permanent resident, temporary visa recipient, or unauthorized resident (Terrazas & Batalova, 2008). In addition to MPI's definition, descendents of immigrants—that is,

those who are born in the US from immigrant parents—are commonly referred to as immigrants as well. We see this in the frequent use of generational terms that are used to differentiate among immigrants of different familial migratory backgrounds. According to Zhou (1997), while the term, *first-generation immigrant* is commonly used to refer those who fit the definition of immigrants as given above by the MPI, *second-generation immigrant* is frequently used to refer to a "US-born with at least one foreign-born parent"(p. 76). At times, the understanding of the second generation is broadened to include the foreign-born who arrive before or during their pre-school years (0-4 years of age), as they have been found to share similar linguistic, cultural, and developmental experiences as those born in the US (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Further, *third-generation immigrant* is generally used to refer to "US-born children with US-born parents" (p. 76). More recently, scholars have identified a new generation of immigrants: the *one-and-a-half (1.5) generation*. This generation has been defined as those who arrive in the US some time before or during their early teens. This classification is based on the recognition that these types of immigrants differ from both first-generation immigrants who migrated as adults and the "true second generation" (Zhou, 1997) immigrants, "particularly in their physical and psychological developmental stages, in their socialization processes in the family, the school, and the society at large, as well as in their orientation toward their homeland" (p. 65).

The US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is more stringent in the use of the term, immigrant; they use it to refer specifically to legal permanent residents (LPRs) or "green card" recipients, who are defined by US immigration law as people who have

been "granted lawful permanent residence in the United States" (Monger & Barr, 2009, p. 1). Permanent residents differ from *nonimmigrants*, as the DHS coins, in that the former are granted the legal right to live, work, and study in the US permanently. On the other hand, nonimmigrants are admitted to the US with submission of an I-94 form and are most often issued a visa, to pursue a specific purpose—including travel, temporary employment, and vocational and academic study—for a temporary amount of time (Monger & Barr, 2009). The DHS further distinguishes among three sub-categories of nonimmigrants: (1) "non-resident" visitors, such as tourists and business travelers; (2) "short-term residents," such as specialty workers, students, and exchange visitors; and (3) "expected long-term residents," such as "fiancé(e)s of US citizens and their children, and victims of trafficking and abuse" (Monger & Barr, 2009, p. 2). Although they are of temporary status, the second group of nonimmigrants—short-term residents—are "considered US residents for purposes of official population enumeration" (p. 2).

In this current exploration of Korean adolescents, both legal permanent residents and short-term residents from Korea will be considered as first-generation immigrants. In addition, Korean adolescents who are descendents of first-generation immigrants will be considered. Considering that all three groups are officially considered "residents" of the US, inclusion of first- and multiple-generation immigrants as well as short-term residents is essential in providing a comprehensive understanding of Korean immigrant adolescents, who make up a crucial part of the US population.

While acknowledging the individual differences in legal resident status and nationality, this study also recognizes the common perception and colloquial use of the

term *immigrant* and uses it to refer to the three groups of residents collectively: short-term residents, permanent residents, and US-born citizens of immigrant families. In other words, the term will be used to refer to those members of the US population who have directly experienced the international migration process—first-generation and 1.5 generation—or who are immediate descendents of first- or 1.5 generations. Further, the study uses *immigrant children* or *immigrant adolescents* to refer to children or adolescents of immigrant families, respectively.

Host and Home Societies

As has been commonly used among researchers of immigrant experiences, this study uses the term *host society* to refer to the nation receiving the immigrants as well as the overall social, cultural, economic, and political context of the receiving nation. On the other hand, *home society* is used to refer to the immigrants' country of origin as well as the overall social, cultural, economic, and political context of that nation. In the particular case of this study, the host society is the United States, whereas the home society is South Korea.

Host, Home and Ethnic Media

In order to address the different cultural originations of media used by immigrants, the study distinguishes between host media, home media, and ethnic media. The concept of *host media* refers to media content generally produced in the host country, in the language of the host country, and primarily targeting the national population of the host country. For example, news media such as the *New York Times* and entertainment media

such as *Wheel of Fortune* or *CSI* are typical examples of US host media. *Home media* refers to media content generally produced in an immigrant's home country, in the home language, and primarily targeting the national population of the home country. Many immigrants, especially the Spanish-speaking population and many groups of Asian background, have had access to their home media through videotape recordings and international TV channels (Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Dakroury, 2006; Louie, 2003; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002). The diversity of outlets has increased with the introduction of satellite TV and the Internet (Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee C., 2004; Miladi, 2006). In sum, both host and home media are those media that Wilkin and Ball-Rokeach (2006) refer to as "general audience media for [a] particular country" (p. 300).

Finally, the study employs *ethnic media* to refer to media content produced in the 'host' country; primarily, but not always, in the 'home' language; and primarily targeting a specific ethnic-cultural population within the host country. Examples of ethnic media in the US include community radio and TV programming, newspapers, books, and magazines specifically produced for the Spanish-, Chinese-, or Korean-speaking populations. These media are similar to those "geo-ethnic media" frequently discussed by Ball-Rokeach and her colleagues in their studies of the communication ecologies of geo-ethnic communities within Los Angeles (Hayden & Ball-Rokeach, 2007; Kim Y.-C. & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Lin & Song, 2006; Wilkin & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Wilkin, Ball-Rokeach, Matsaganis, & Cheong, 2007). Ball-Rokeach and her research team's conceptualization of geo-ethnic media primarily focuses on local mass media that target specific geographical areas or local communities in general as well as particular ethnic

populations within those communities. For the purposes of this study, their concept has been revised and extended upon by excluding media that are produced for the local community at large without particular ethnic differentiation and by including media produced for particular ethnic cultures on a national level. Therefore, Spanish-language TV and radio shows produced by Univision, and TV and radio shows produced by ImaginAsian Entertainment, which target East Asians and South East Asians across the nation, are also considered examples of ethnic media. Considering the rising popularity of the Internet and the increasing digital migration of mass media content, it is reasonable to include online news and entertainment outlets that clearly cater to particular immigrant or cultural-ethnic populations as a relatively new type of ethnic media. Sites such as Asian American Net (www.asianamerican.net), Latina Style (www.latinastyle.com), and Arab American News (www.arabamericannews.com) are representative examples of such media.

ADOLESCENTS AND THE INTERNET

The Internet has indeed become one of the most popular media used by adolescents in general. Through the Internet, adolescents have access to a wealth of information and entertainment and to a multitude of platforms to communicate and socialize with their peers. Research shows that not only do youth have access, but they actively take advantage of these resources and opportunities. But why is it important that we know how youth are accessing the Internet and what they are doing online? An increasing body of research has identified the different types of social and cultural skills

that young people acquire through their use of such digital media (Jenkins, 2007). This research further argues that the impact of these acquired skills are not confined to youth's interactions within the media environment but extend into their everyday lives and broader social context, serving as foundations for well-rounded development and full participation in contemporary society. For example, youth's practices online have been observed to have positive effects on cognitive development and academic performance (Jackson et al., 2006; Subrahmanyam et al., 2002). Moreover, the skills that youth accumulate through their online practices are considered to be reflective of those skills essential to social interaction, civic and political participation, and career development (Cassell, 2002; Ito et al., 2008; Jenkins, 2007; Livingstone & Bober, 2005; Olsson, 2006). However, research also consistently recognizes that forms and levels of online participation are not even across the young users. Therefore, the ways in which youth engage with online media and the factors that lead to different forms and unequal levels of engagement have become ever more crucial and relevant research topics to pursue.

This section reviews the literature in regards to the current state of teenagers' access to, use of, and engagement with the Internet, in terms of both similarities and differences. A review of this literature not only exemplifies the need for more research regarding the online practices of ethnic minority teenagers in the US, but also provides the theoretical foundations with which to start exploring the online practices of these understudied populations.

Adolescents' Access to the Internet

Alleviating earlier concerns about the gap between digital "haves" and "have-nots" (National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 1995, 1998), recent research is showing positive progress toward broadening the accessibility of computers and Internet connections (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). In particular, increased accessibility through schools and public libraries has assisted adolescents who otherwise would not be able to go online. By 2009, ninety-three percent of US teenagers, ages 12 to 17, were using the Internet either at home or at another location (Salmond & Purcell, 2011). Ownership of mobile media that have Internet-connecting capabilities (e.g., laptops, cell phones, MP3 players such as iPods, and game players such as Nintendo DS) is quite high as well among children between ages 11 and 18 (Lenhart, Ling, Campbell, & Purcell, 2010; Lenhart, Madden, & Hitlin, 2005; Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). The extent with which these mobile media are used to go online has yet to be fully explored, but a recent study by Lenhart et al. (2010) observed that adolescents, though still a minority, do use their cell phones to check email, log into social network sites, and participate in instant messaging.

Despite the overall increase in access to Internet-connecting devices, disparities in Internet access and extent of use still exist along certain demographic and socio-economic lines. First of all, studies consistently show that Internet use is higher among (a) White teenagers than among Blacks and Hispanics, (b) teenagers with college-educated or post-graduate-educated parents than among those with less educated parents, and (c) teenagers living in households with higher family incomes (DeBell & Chapman,

2006; Rideout et al., 2010; Salmond & Purcell, 2011). Discrepancies in having Internet access at home and having high-speed connections at home also parallel the demographic differences found in overall Internet use. These findings are understandable as race or ethnicity, educational attainment, and income are closely related to one another in the American context (Robinson, DiMaggio, & Hargittai, 2003). Moreover, research suggests that different racial/ethnic groups foster different attitudes toward technology, and these attitudes are influenced by one's education and occupation (Jackson, von Eye, Biocca, Yong, & Fitzgerald, 2003; Leonardi, 2003). The findings further highlight the significance of the family context in influencing youth's engagement with the Internet.

Gender has been a factor long understood to account for differences in access to and attitudes toward computers and the Internet (Kafai & Sutton, 1999; Morahan-Martin, Olinsky, & Schumacher, 1992; Schumacher & Morahan-Martin, 2001). However, the digital access gap between boys and girls has generally diminished over time, with girls being equally as likely as boys to use the Internet (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2005). Ownership of computers or mobile devices with online capabilities does not differ for boys and girls either (Lenhart et al., 2005). The extent of Internet use may still differ though, as research shows that boys, especially 15-18 year olds, spend longer amounts of time on the computer than girls of their cohort, particularly due to their greater affinity for playing games (Rideout et al., 2010).

Among children in general, age is positively related to having access to the Internet, frequency of accessing the Internet, and time spent on the Internet; however, these differences are suggested to be more manifest in comparisons between teenagers

and pre-teens. Teenagers who are 11 and older have been found to go online more frequently and to be online for longer amounts of time than pre-teens (Rideout et al., 2010; Yan, 2006). Teenagers are also more likely than pre-teens to have Internet access at home; but among the teenage cohort, there are no differences in terms of home access (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). In terms of basic access and extent of use, differences within the teenage cohort are observed only in terms of (a) ownership of Internet-connecting media devices, with older teens (ages 15-17) owning a larger number of such devices than younger teens (ages 12-14); and (b) frequency of going online, with older teens going online on more frequent occasions (Lenhart et al., 2005).

Adolescents' Activities on the Internet

While adolescents engage in a variety of activities online, studies show that the type of activities most popular among this population has changed over time. These changes most possibly reflect changes in the online applications or services available and the digital culture proliferating during the time at which the data were collected. Nevertheless, it is quite apparent that online activities involving communication and school work are consistently of great significance among teenagers. Before the ubiquitous reach of social network sites (SNSs) such as MySpace and Facebook, DeBell and Chapman (2006) observed that work for school assignments was the most popular online activity among teenagers, followed by email and instant messaging. In their consideration of activities that are non-academic in nature, the Pew Research Center (Lenhart et al., 2005) found that sending or reading email, searching for entertainment news, and playing

games were most commonly engaged in by teens. In an updated study conducted after the proliferation of SNSs, the Pew Research Center (Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, & Smith, 2007) noted the declining use of email among teens and the increase in communication taking place through instant messaging and SNSs. However, in the same study, it was observed that information-seeking activities, regarding news on entertainment and general current events, were more popular than the communication-oriented activities just noted above. Most recently, a study from the Kaiser Family Foundation (Rideout et al., 2010) observed that, when considering only recreational, non-academic activities, the use of SNSs is the most popular computer activity among teenagers, followed by playing games and watching videos on video sharing sites.

As reviewed above, discrepancies in online access and in the extent of going/being online are found across socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender, and age. The extent of engaging in certain online activities varies by the similar demographic factors. First, in regards to socio-economic status, compared to children of parents with no college education or lower income, children of parents with more than some college education or higher income are more likely to use the Internet for school assignments (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). Additionally, teenagers of lower income families report higher levels of maintaining blogs and lower levels of using email or instant messaging applications than those of higher income families (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2007).

Racial/Ethnic differences in online activities are quite distinct as well and are most particularly observed between White teenagers and teenagers of either Black or

Hispanic backgrounds. For example, White and Asian teens are more likely than Black or Hispanic teens to use the Internet to complete school assignments (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). Meanwhile, Hispanic children (between ages 8 and 18) spend longer amounts of time than White children on SNSs, email, instant messaging, and video sharing sites; and Black children spend longer amounts of time than White children on video sharing sites (Rideout et al., 2010).

There are also a number of noticeable and consistently observed gender differences in what teenagers do online. Overall, research repeatedly shows that boys' activities are best characterized by playing games, watching videos, and information seeking. On the other hand, girls' activities primarily revolve around communication, such as using email, instant messaging, SNSs, and blogs (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2005; Rideout et al., 2010; Thurlow & McKay, 2003).

Furthermore, teenagers display different phases of Internet use as they grow older, reflecting general youth-interests that characterize particular developmental stages. Replicating the trend with traditional, console or hand-held video games (Rideout et al., 2010), younger teens are more likely to and more frequently play online games than older teens (D'Haenens, 2003; DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2005). Meanwhile, reflecting the importance older teens place on relationships with their peers, older teens are more likely to use email and to participate in instant messaging (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Lenhart et al., 2005). Further, reflecting their gradual transition into young adults, older teens are more likely to shop online; search online for general news and topics

regarding future education, careers, and health (Lenhart et al., 2005); and conduct work for school assignments (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Kent & Facer, 2004).

Limitations to Current Understandings

These comprehensive efforts to describe the level of digital access youth have and the types of activities they engage in on the computer and over the Internet have indeed been influential in informing researchers, educators, policy-makers, and parents of the general digital trends and cultures that characterize today's youth. However, one limitation to these studies is that they tend to undercount youth of minority ethnic-cultural heritage, particularly those of recent immigrant backgrounds. For example, in the studies conducted by the Pew Research Center (e.g., Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Lenhart et al., 2005), seventy-two percent of the sample is White, while the majority of the remaining 28 percent is composed of Black and Hispanic youth. Only 6 percent of the sample, classified as "Other race (not Hispanic)," represents the diversity of minority ethnic cultures that are not of Black or Hispanic heritage. Similarly, in the studies presented by the Kaiser Family Foundation (e.g., Rideout et al., 2010; Rideout, Roberts, & Foehr, 2005), youth of minority ethnic backgrounds that are not of Black or Hispanic heritage make up only 12 percent of the entire sample. Due to the small numbers, these studies do not address the state of online practices that characterize these groups of teenagers. Therefore, we have little understanding of what minority ethnic groups beyond that of Blacks and Hispanics do online and the social and cultural contexts in which their online practices take place.

Of the small number of studies that do involve explorations of ethnic-minority teen populations' online practices, many have been conducted in countries other than the US (e.g., Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2009). Many of the studies are also primarily interested in (a) the online practices of "ethnic-minority teens" or "immigrant teenagers" collectively or (b) the cross-cultural differences of online practices across teenagers of different race, ethnicity, or nationality. For example, Louie (2003) presents the differences in access to and extent of using computers found among teens of five different national backgrounds (i.e., Chinese, Haitian, Dominican, Central American, Mexican) living in the US. She then goes on to describe the online activities that these immigrants engage in, without differentiating across national background. Bonfadelli, Bucher, and Piga (2007) conducted a similar cross-cultural analysis of Internet access and use among immigrant teens from Italy, Turkey, and Ex-Yugoslavia living in Switzerland.

Describing media use patterns for immigrant groups as a whole undermines understanding of the diversity of individual ethnic cultures, while cross-cultural comparisons solely based on ethnic or national categorization (without considering the quality and substance that defines a certain ethnic or national culture) limits our understanding of why we see particular cross-cultural differences. These collective comparisons also overlook the individual variations in cultural orientations that may exist across individuals within the same ethnic population. According to the literature on immigrant adolescents, one's ethnic or national categorization itself does not necessarily define the nature and extent of one's cultural orientations (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Additionally, as will be reviewed in detail below, the literature on

immigrant adolescents' use of offline, mass media (as well as the literature on immigrant adults' use of offline and online media) shows that these differing levels of orientation to the host and home cultures affect and reflect different patterns of media practices.

In sum, there is an overall lack of studies that consider the online practices of teenage ethnic minorities in the US, particularly those of immigrant backgrounds. We further lack understanding of how the complexities and variations that characterize individual immigrant cultures are reflected in these online practices. The first of the following two sections further elaborates on the overall significance of studying immigrant adolescents in the US context as well as the need to study them independently of immigrant adults and non-immigrant adolescents. The subsequent section argues the significance of focusing particularly on Korean immigrants to the US.

IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

The gradual transformation of the immigrant population is well reflected in the changing demographics of the children of immigrants. Both children *of* first-generation immigrants and children *as* first-generation (or 1.5 generation) immigrants comprise a great portion of not only the immigrant population growth but also the overall domestic population growth. Further, they are the fastest-growing segment of the US child population. According to the Migration Policy Institute (Terrazas & Batalova, 2008), between the years of 2000 and 2007, the number of children age 17 and under with at least one foreign-born parent rose 22 percent, from 13.1 million to 16 million. In 2007, twenty-three percent of all children (under 18) within the US had at least one foreign-

born parent. Of these children of immigrants, approximately 85 percent were born in the US, and 15 percent were born in a country outside of the US. Further, although the number of first-generation immigrant children declined 8 percent between 2000 and 2007, the number of second-generation immigrant children grew 30 percent. The share of second-generation children among all children with immigrant parents has grown steadily from 80 percent in 2000 to 85 percent in 2007.

Beyond reasons of increase in numbers, immigrant children are a distinctive group within the general immigrant population. As minors, they are in a crucial stage of not only physical but also social and emotional development. They are in the process of learning how to manage various social relationships, such as those with their family members and peers, and how to control emotions and behaviors in a mature and socially acceptable manner. This is especially the case of adolescents as they undergo a phase of experimentation with and construction of identity (Peterson, 1988).

Contemporary research has further shown that adolescence is complicated even more for adolescents of immigrant families who are of ethnic minorities. Above all, research has shown that, immigrant adolescents of African, Asian, and Hispanic origins tend to experience a range of social, emotional, and physical problems in the form of low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and withdrawal (Birman, 1998; Lee S., 1996). The intensity of these problems is higher when compared to experiences of their European American counterparts (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Lorenzo, Bilge, Reinherz, & Frost, 1995). Explanations for such tendencies can be found or inferred from several studies. First of all, adolescence in general has been considered to be a period in which

youth begin to struggle more intensely with questions of who they are as ethnic minorities (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Quintana, 2007).

Second, many studies have found that acculturative expectations from parents and society can undermine the well-being of immigrant children. For example, it has been observed that Asian and Latin American immigrant parents, especially those of the first-generation, tend to expect their children to value and maintain their cultural heritage (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco C. & Suarez-Orozco, 1995), while children may not always agree with or conform to their parents' wishes (Booth, Crouter, & Landale, 1997; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Saldaina, 1994). Further, some of these parents cultivate dual—and at times paradoxical—aspirations by simultaneously expecting that their children will also successfully fit into and navigate the host society. However, these expectations have often been a source of conflict between parents and children (Zhou, 1997) and to increase the emotional stress among the children (Cho S. J., Hudley, & Back, 2003; Kim C. C. & Miura, 1999, April; Park, 1995). The dual expectations or pressures occur on the broader social level as well, inadvertently labeling this population as "forever foreigners" regardless of generational status, nationality, or acculturation level (Tuan, 1998). In particular, those adolescents who have a difficult time reconciling or balancing their home and host cultures tend to suffer from more social and psychological disorders (Kim C. C. & Miura, 1999, April; Shaw T., Michahalles, Chen, Minami, & Sing, 1994).

Along similar lines, research on discrimination across ethnic groups has found that many immigrant adolescents report having felt or directly experiencing

discrimination because of their ethnicity or race (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Asian youth in particular tend to report higher levels of discrimination from their peers than Black or Latino youth (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Many of these immigrant youth of ethnic minority cultures internalize their perceived inferior status regardless of their aspirations to fit in with the host society or of their acculturative competence within the host society. Consequently, these internal conflicts and experiences of discrimination have been observed to negatively impact the formation of immigrant youths' ethnic or racial identity (Kibria, 2002; Tuan, 1998) and their general psychological well-being (Choi, Meininger, & Roberts, 2006; Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Grossman & Liang, 2008; Min & Kim, 1999; Tuan, 1998; Zhou & Xiong, 2005).

Research also has shown that, when asked to self-identify their ethnicities, immigrant adolescents oscillate back and forth between identifications of hyphenated American (e.g., Korean-American, Japanese-American, Filipino-American) and national origin (e.g., Korean, Japanese, Filipino) (Zhou & Xiong, 2005). In the case of Hispanic-American adolescents, Golash-Boza (2006) found that those who had experienced discrimination were more likely to identify themselves with a pan-ethnic identity, such as Latino- or Latina-American, most possibly due to their perception that they are not viewed as "unhyphenated Americans" by others in society. For many new immigrant adolescents, thinking about themselves in terms of race or ethnicity will be a new challenge that they never had to undergo in their home society, as has been found to be the case for many new immigrant adults (Barrett & Roediger, 1997). This not only

exemplifies the fluidity and contextuality of immigrant adolescents' cultural identity, but also suggests the internal conflict that these adolescents experience in attempting to make sense of and to express their racial, ethnic, or national backgrounds in relation to their current place of residence.

Immigrant children are differentiated not only from their non-immigrant peers but also from their adult counterparts in terms of their experience of the immigration process and experience within the host society as a member of an immigrant family. Considering the legal procedures and financial investment required in the process of international migration, it is quite reasonable to say that the majority of, if not all, decisions to migrate are made by the parents and not the children. Thus, international migration for children is, in many cases, involuntary (Gibson, 1997; Hayes, 1992); in the cases where they are voluntary (e.g., children's wishes to attend school in the US), migration is realized through the active efforts of the parents (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001). Moreover, children are not always directly exposed to economic pressures nor do they actively struggle with the fundamental and daily burdens that are required for survival—e.g., searching for a place of residence, setting up a bank account, finding their way around town, driving, shopping for daily necessities, paying bills, etc. (Orellana et al., 2001). Therefore, immigrant children are mostly reliant on the resources provided by their parents. For these children, the most direct kinds of pressures are those encountered at school, where their own motivations, initiatives, and behaviors are what primarily get them by.

Meanwhile, research also has shown that children whose parents lack the knowledge and language skills to efficiently navigate host society often act as "cultural and linguistic brokers" for their parents (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002)—e.g., facilitating face-to-face conversations, translating and filling out legal, medical, financial, and school documents. This brokering occurs while the children themselves are learning the new host culture and language. Many immigrant adolescents from working-class families also work after school in order to help support their family (Chae, 2004; Suarez-Orozco M., 1987). This tendency of relying on children may intensify especially for those families that do not have immediate access to co-ethnic support networks or "ethnic enclaves" (Valenzuela, 1999). Therefore, these children are expected to balance crucial 'adult responsibilities' as well as 'age-appropriate' experiences at school and with their peers. In such ways, we can assume that children's experience of international migration differs substantially from that of adults.

In such ways, immigrant adolescents are a particular population that requires independent consideration. Understanding this population should be based on studies that grant them focused attention, differentiating them from adolescents of non-immigrant backgrounds and from adults of immigrant backgrounds. The fields of psychology and education have been effective in addressing the experiences of this specific population, but we still have much to learn in terms of how these overall experiences of immigration are reflected in immigrant adolescents' use of media and, in particular, their use of online media.

KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE US

Since the passing of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, the United States has witnessed rapid increase in immigrant populations, an increase that is still ongoing. According to the US Census Bureau, in 1980 the foreign-born represented 6 percent of the total US population, and by 1990 and 2000, the numbers rose to approximately 8 percent and 11 percent, respectively. The most current figures from the US Census Bureau's 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) show that foreign-born residents within the nation reached over 38 million, which represents roughly 13 percent of the total US population (Terrazas & Batalova, 2008).

The majority of the post-1965 immigrants come from non-European countries, predominantly from Latin America and Asia (Suarez-Orozco M., 2001; Terrazas & Batalova, 2008). This trend contrasts that of immigration before the 1965 Act, when 90 percent of those who migrated to the US were mainly of European origin (Zhou & Xiong, 2005). The relatively recent increase in the Asian population can be attributed to the 1965 Act's repeal of the national origins quota system, which functioned discriminatively against potential immigrants from Asian regions, and to its allowance of immigrants to sponsor their immediate family members once they had settled (Hyun, 2001; Kim I. J., 2004).

Among the massive influx of Asians after 1965 were South Koreans. The Korean population within the US rapidly increased as the first group of immigrants later sponsored their immediate family members' immigration, activating what Hyun (2001) calls a "migration cycle or chain," in which the sponsored family members later sponsor

other family members, and so on and so forth. Consequently, between 1970 and 2007, the Korean foreign-born population increased from approximately 39,000 to 1 million. This makes the Korean foreign-born community the seventh largest immigrant group within the United States (Terrazas, 2009).

As the majority of Korean immigrants migrated to the United States after 1965, the current Korean-American community is primarily composed of first-generation immigrants, including their Korean-born children who were educated in the United States (Hong & Min, 1999, as cited in Yeh et al., 2005). The number of first-generation immigrants increases when further taking into consideration the number of short-term residents. According to the DHS (Monger & Barr, 2009), Korea has been a steady leading-nation of citizenship for short-term resident admission, ranking number four in 2008.

The major reasons for Koreans' immigration to the US include pursuit for a higher quality of life and education, and reunification with family members (Hurh, 1998; S. C. Kim, 1997, as cited in Yeh et al., 2005). Most recently, the motivation for achieving higher-quality education has brought a marked increase in the number of migrations from Korea to the US. People have been moving to take advantage of educational opportunities for themselves and/or for their children (Cho H.-J., 1996). Every year between 2005 and 2008, Korea has secured the number-one spot as the nation sending over the largest number of foreign students to the US (Batalova, 2006; Monger & Barr, 2009). In 2008, fifteen percent of academic student' admissions to the US came from Korea, including both adults and minors (Monger & Barr, 2009). This trend of migration has led to the

increase in number of Korean families with children and Korean children on student visas. Moreover, in 2008, about 22 percent of Koreans who obtained legal permanent resident status were under the age of 18 (Monger & Rytina, 2009).

Despite the increasing number of Korean immigrants in the US, we do not have a significant amount of insight into their immediate experiences as immigrants. We have even more to learn about the Korean(-American) adolescent population. The handful of studies that has been conducted, particularly in relation to adolescents, has been limited to the disciplines of education and psychology. The majority of these studies has explored primarily the adolescents' psychological and physical well-being (e.g., Cho S. & Bae, 2005; Cho S. J. et al., 2003; Kim E. & Cain, 2008; Kim E., Cain, & McCubbin, 2006; Nakashima & Wong, 2000; Shrake & Rhee, 2004) and educational achievement (e.g., Cho S. J. et al., 2003; Kim K. & Rohner, 2002; Lew, 2004). Therefore, we have an idea of how Korean(-American) adolescents are doing in terms of their health and academic performance. However, we do not know much about their daily cultural practices—practices that are of great, if not the most, importance to adolescents in general, as reviewed above. Extensive research further has shown that media play an influential role in immigrants' adjustment to the host society and their maintenance of ties to the home society, as reviewed later in this chapter. However, we have modest understanding of the media practices of Korean(-American) adolescents and how these practices relate to the young population's daily experiences as immigrants negotiating multiple cultures.

South Korea is a developed nation in economic terms and is highly engaged in transnational interactions economically, politically, and culturally. Additionally, it is a

global leader in digital media technology on both levels of production and consumption; by 2008, nearly 80 percent of households in Korea had access to high-speed broadband, and Korean users were found to engage in a greater variety of online activities with greater intensity when compared to users in the US (National Internet Development Agency of Korea, 2009). On top of this, a great number of Korean immigrants, upon arrival to the US, are relatively high in socio-economic status and educational level (Terrazas, 2009; Zhou & Xiong, 2005). Based on this context, we can assume that much of this population is more or less familiar with, or has had at least some access to, American culture and ideas, the English language, and various advanced communications media, including the Internet.

Several scholars have noted that it is because of this very particular context of Korean immigrants and the popular perception of Korean immigrants as a "model minority"—a racial or ethnic minority group that is perceived by the general public to have assimilated successfully to the host country, especially in terms of socio-economic and educational status, regardless of the group's or individuals' actual "success"—that this population's experience of immigration has been overlooked by the academic radar (Cho S. J. et al., 2003; Zhou & Xiong, 2005). However, the current study builds on the notion that this particular context and characteristics of this population strongly warrants and reinforces the need for in-depth inquiry, allowing for a more diverse and nuanced understanding of the immigrant population in the US. Further, beyond defining the commonalities that characterize co-ethnic populations, a study that focuses on one particular ethnic group may shed light onto the varied immigrant and media experiences

that occur within it. This entails producing insights into those Korean immigrants who do not come from the mainstream Korean culture and who do not fit the model minority stereotype. Also, focusing on a population that is familiar and skilled with technology will benefit studies that explore the relationships between individuals' cultural backgrounds and their media use, particularly by extending discussions beyond issues of access to issues of engagement with the online world.

IMMIGRANTS AND CROSS-CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Immigration can be a challenging and painful experience. Not only do immigrants undergo the difficulty of adapting to a new geographical location, they encounter many conflicts with the different ways of life carried out within the host society in terms of language, popular culture, and the values and norms associated with interpersonal relationships. This ongoing process of change, adjustment, and cultural retention has caught the attention of numerous scholars across multiple disciplines, including anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology. This section first reviews the traditional approach to understanding such processes, which spoke mostly in terms of assimilation, and then introduces an alternative approach that has been applied by more recent scholars.

Assimilation Model

Since the earliest research on immigrants' lives within the host society, many scholars have theorized that, over time, immigrants will learn to overcome the initial barriers by picking up the host language, popular culture, value systems, and behavioral

customs, eventually becoming absorbed into or fully adapted to the host country (Chance, 1965; Gans, 1979; Gordon, 1964). It has been further argued that immigrants will lose their original home culture and identity simultaneously as they become more similar and accustomed to the dominant mainstream culture. This overall process of change has come to be known as *assimilation* or *acculturation*. Although these concepts are most applicable to first or 1.5 generation immigrants, they have also been applied to understanding the collective experiences of the descendents of the initial immigrants.

According to Alba and Nee (1997) and Berry (1997), many scholars have used the two terms interchangeably to refer to an immigrants' absorption into the host culture. However, other scholars have differentiated between the two concepts. Many scholars, including the earliest involved in immigration studies, have understood assimilation as an ultimate and ideal state of complete integration into host culture and of simultaneous loss of home culture (e.g., Gordon, 1964; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Van den Berghe, 1987). Assimilation has further been viewed as the incorporation into a middle- to upper-class, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture. Additionally, in this view, acculturation refers to the process of learning and accumulation of host culture and is considered to be a stage that precedes or preconditions assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2003). This has been the traditional and dominant way in which immigrant experiences have been understood.

Nevertheless, this model has received great amounts of criticism over time. First of all, according to Alba and Nee (2003), recent social scientists have criticized this idea as an "ideologically laden residue of worn-out notions" (p. 1) that "[overlook] the value and sustainability of minority cultures and, in addition, [mask] barely hidden ethnocentric

assumptions about the superiority of Anglo-American culture" (p. 2). Second, some scholars have questioned the normative nature of assimilation, arguing that achieving full assimilation is not always beneficial, necessary, or realizable (Glazer, 1993; Rumbaut, 1997).

Finally, critics have targeted another one of the model's assumptions that all immigrants lie somewhere on a spectrum of which the two opposite poles represent (a) complete maintenance of home culture and (b) complete assimilation to mainstream, host culture. The model explains that, once an immigrant enters the host society, he/she gradually progresses or acculturates toward assimilation. This is considered not only to be an inevitable process but also a necessary one. Alternative scenarios within the spectrum, such as retaining or strengthening one's associations with the home culture, intentionally refusing to learn about host culture, or balancing one's home and host cultures are not described or considered within the model (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001). In this sense, the adjustment of an immigrant to host society is assumed to be a linear and unidirectional process, and the relationship between one's practices of home and host cultures is understood within a zero-sum framework. Contending that adjustment to a new culture is a highly individualized and contextualized process, varying from group to group and from person to person, critics have argued against the traditional model's assumption of linearity and homogeneity (Flannery et al., 2001). Criticism escalated as a number of research studies surfaced with evidence that not all immigrants strictly follow the mainstream acculturation path (e.g., Berry et al., 1989; Berry & Sam, 1997; Birman, 1998; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 1997) and as

observations were made of the persisting racial inequalities and conflicts within nations and intensifying ethnic alliances among immigrant groups (Alba & Nee, 1997; Heisler, 2000).

As a consequence, recent scholars have rejected this normative notion of a complete and homogenized state of assimilation. Some have responded by 'refining' the assimilation concept by turning attention to the multiple dimensions and trajectories of immigrant adjustment (Alba & Nee, 2003; Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Others have 'redefined' the concept as one of multiple types or ranges of acculturative strategies or attitudes—rather than a single consequential state—in which an immigrant intentionally strives to integrate fully into the host culture while discarding the home or ethnic culture (Berry et al., 1989; Berry & Sam, 1997). The latter approach to understanding assimilation and acculturation is part of a larger discussion of cross-cultural adjustment processes that acknowledges individuals' abilities to balance two or more cultures at a time. These bicultural or multicultural models are discussed in further detail below.

Bicultural Model

As seen above, to overcome the limitations of traditional assimilation models, many scholars have attempted to capture the different contexts and dimensions of cross-cultural adjustment. Among the variety of alternative approaches is that which adopts the *bicultural* model. This model promotes the idea that individuals have the capacity to internalize two cultures: becoming accustomed to a new culture while simultaneously

maintaining a traditional culture of origin. The bicultural model differs from traditional or revised assimilation models in that it emphasizes not only the co-existence of two cultures in a non-either/or manner, but also the need to empirically understand and measure each culture independently (Berry et al., 1989; LaFromboise et al., 1993). In the context of this model, acculturation comes to refer to an individual's growing familiarity with host culture and his/her development of skills to navigate host culture, regardless of the level of their orientation toward home culture (Berry, 1997).

Much work concerning immigrants' experiences based on the bicultural model has provided strong support for the idea of *bicultural competence* or *biculturalism* (LaFromboise et al., 1993). This refers to the aptitude of individuals, both adults and children, to be knowledgeable of both host and home cultures and to emotionally associate themselves with both (Berry & Sam, 1997; Birman, 1998; Marks, Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd, & Coll, 2007; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). According to Benet-Martinez et al. (2002), a high level of bicultural competence is defined as "being strongly and equally involved with, and comfortable in, both" host and home cultures "in terms of both identification and behavioral skills." On the other hand, an individual with low bicultural competence would be "relatively more involved with one of the two cultures" or have "similarly moderate-low levels of involvement with both cultures" (p.1025).

In addition to understanding one's cultural orientations to host and home cultures separately, scholars have also differentiated among the multiple cultural dimensions in

which one could be oriented or competent. For example, Birman and her colleagues (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005; Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002; Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003) argue that one's cultural orientations toward both host and home cultures involve the three distinct processes of language competence, identification, and behavioral participation. They substantiate their conceptualization of multidimensional cultural processes by confirming the varied roles of each dimension in different life domains (e.g., peer relations, family relations, school performance). Similarly, LaFromboise et al. (1993) identify six dimensions in which an individual can develop competence to be able to effectively manage two cultures. The dimensions include (1) knowledge of cultural beliefs and values for both host and home cultures; (2) role repertoire, or behavioral norms an individual acquires of both cultures; (3) positive attitudes, including ethnic-cultural identification, toward both cultures; (4) home- and host-language competency; (5) groundedness, or a strong social support network within both cultures; and, (6) bicultural efficacy, or the capacity of freely and comfortably balancing one's dual cultural orientations.

In sum, the bicultural model has been influential in effectively progressing the understanding of immigrants' simultaneous processes of acculturation to host culture and cultural maintenance of home culture. Research applying this model has provided strong evidence that one's cultural competence in both host and home cultures can be considered conceptually independent, and hence, measured independently. Within the literature, it further has been argued empirically and theoretically that both acculturation and cultural maintenance occur across multiple dimensions, giving us a more

comprehensive and sophisticated framework to assess and understand immigrants' experiences.

With studies based on this model, we now have some knowledge regarding the extent of immigrants' bicultural tendencies and the role of these multidimensional bicultural tendencies in different life domains. However, there is much left to be understood in regards to how these bicultural tendencies relate to the domain of media consumption. Research has shown that immigrants use various types of media for the purpose of acculturation or cultural maintenance; however it must be noted that the majority of this research focuses on media's role in regards to only one of the two cultural processes at a time and, in many instances, it is assumed that the two processes are opposite reflections of each other. A more detailed account of this body of research is presented in the following section.

IMMIGRANTS AND MEDIA

Within studies of media and communications, phenomena of international migration have received increased attention over the past three decades, especially in terms of immigrants' use of media. In general, the absolute number of empirical studies that have investigated media use among immigrant populations has increased significantly over the years, reflecting an increased academic interest in immigrant populations and their use of media. A variety of media has been studied, with earlier studies dealing with mass media (1970s~90s) and a more current focus on the Internet, reflecting historical developments in technology and transformations in technology use

and culture. Not only have the types of media studied multiplied, the ways in which media use is understood in relation to the host and home cultures have diversified as well. Overall, a review of the literature reveals that 'acculturation to host culture' and 'maintenance of home culture' have been the most recurrent themes or approaches taken in understanding immigrants' use of media. Research conducted on these two themes will be discussed below, following a review of the general patterns of immigrants' access to and use of media.

Immigrants' Basic Access to and Use of Media

Many types of media have been examined across studies of immigrants' use of media. A large number of studies have studied the use of mass media collectively (e.g., Hayden & Ball-Rokeach, 2007; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Kim Y.-C. & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Wilkin & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Wilkin et al., 2007), while some have centered on specific types of mass media individually, such as television (Lee C., 2004; Stilling, 1997; Zohoori, 1988), film (Ewen, 1980), and print media (Korzenny, Neuendorf, Burgoon, & Greenberg, 1983; Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985). Beyond the medium itself, some studies have focused on the use and interpretation of certain types of content or genres, such as soap operas (Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Johnson, 1996), talk shows (Rojas, 2004; Woo & Dominick, 2003), news (Chaffee, Nass, & Yang, 1990, 1991; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Miladi, 2006), and advertisements (Dutta-Bergman & Pal, 2005).

Across the multitude of research, it has become quite apparent that immigrants have access to and use a variety of media (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Louie, 2003; Sherman, 1985). Above all, television has consistently been observed to be the most important medium for immigrant groups, even in this current era of the Internet. When compared to non-immigrant and multiple-generation immigrant groups, first-generation immigrants are more likely to be heavier users of television (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Lee C., 2004; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Zohoori, 1988). Print media, such as books, newspapers, and magazines—especially those produced by the host society—are the least popularly consumed among immigrants regardless of generational status (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Hwang B. & He, 1999).

Most recently, there has been an increase in research on immigrants' use of the Internet. Immigrant groups have been observed to actively rely on the Internet for information and entertainment purposes (Benitez, 2006; Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009; Louie, 2003; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2001; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Ye, 2005, 2006a, 2006b). Levels of Internet access differ across different immigrant groups (Louie, 2003; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Some groups lack in access opportunities when compared to the non-immigrant groups of the host country (Benitez, 2006; Bonfadelli et al., 2007). Much of these differences in access are interpreted as being due to differences among immigrant groups in terms of attitudes toward technology and media as well as general socioeconomic status.

Although not all studies with immigrants differentiate among host, home, and ethnic media (e.g., Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Tan, 1983), many studies are interested in the differential use of media of different origins (e.g., Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Lee I. H., 2005; Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Lin, Song, & Ball-Rokeach, 2010; Lum, 1991; Sherman, 1985; Stilling, 1997). Some studies focus on host media only (Dutta-Bergman & Pal, 2005; Woo & Dominick, 2003), home media only (Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Mayer, 2003; Rios, 2003), or both home and ethnic media (Rojas, 2004). A number of other studies use terms such as "English-language" (Stilling, 1997), "Spanish-language" (Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Stilling, 1997), or "Turkish-language" (Trebbe, 2007) media, without any indication of whether they are referring to host, home, or ethnic media, or a combination of any of the three. Although multiple-generation immigrants have been found to use home or ethnic media, when direct comparisons are made with their first-generation counterparts, their use tends to be of a lower degree (Dakroury, 2006; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Miladi, 2006). First-generation immigrant children have also been found to lack interest in home media when compared to their parents (Elias & Lemish, 2008). Further, the introduction of new, digital media, such as the Internet and satellite TV have increased opportunities for immigrants to access home media (Benitez, 2006; Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009; Lee C., 2004; Louie, 2003; Miladi, 2006; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005).

These patterns of immigrants' basic access and use—such as the types of media devices one owns, the types of media services one subscribes to, or the types of media and content one actually uses—have been primarily understood in relation to immigrants'

adjustment to host culture and their maintenance of home culture. The following two sub-sections discuss the research findings in regards to such relationships.

Immigrants' Use of Media and Acculturation to Host Culture

Immigrants' media use has been investigated primarily within the context of the host society. In other words, much research has focused on how immigrants' use of media influences or is influenced by their levels of acculturation to host society. Research findings have consistently shown that use of media, and in particular, use of 'host media', tends to be positively related to immigrants' overall acculturation to host society in terms of attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, and language.

First of all, media use has been analyzed in relation to one's level of attitudinal acculturation and, to a lesser degree, level of behavioral acculturation. This acculturation has been explored through immigrants' affinity toward and adoption of the host culture (Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Moon & Park, 2007; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005); motivations or intentions to assimilate to the host society (Kim Y. Y., 1977; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005); and the cultural and social difficulties experienced within the host society (Johnson, 1996; Lum, 1991). For example, Peeters and D'Haenens (2005) observed that among immigrants to the Netherlands, those who have higher levels of integration—measured through the extent of one's endorsement of dominant Dutch norms, social contact with native Dutch people, motivation to integrate, and self-identification as Dutch—show more extensive use of both mass media and the Internet. Further, Lee and Tse (1994) found that Hong Kong immigrants to Canada with higher exposure to host

media are more likely to identify themselves as Canadian, while Elias and Lemish (2008) observe that Russian immigrant children to Israel actively use host media with a desire for integration into "Israeliness." Other scholars have found that immigrants with higher media access are more likely to practice host country traditions and behaviors, such as in their celebration of holidays, preparation of meals, and engagement in civic duties (Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Zhou & Cai, 2002) Similarly, Chen (2010) observed that Chinese immigrants in Singapore who spend more time on Singpore-based websites are better adapted in getting around town or practicing the Singaporean lifestyle. Despite the diverse ways in which attitudinal and behavioral acculturation processes have been assessed, the overarching consensus across the studies is that immigrants who more frequently, intensively, and extensively use media tend to show higher levels of acculturation to their host environment.

Meanwhile, the relationships between immigrants' media use and perceptual acculturation to host society—the level and type of knowledge that an immigrant accumulates of the host society and its customs, values, and norms—have also been investigated. First, many scholars have found that the level of one's knowledge of or familiarity with host society is strongly related to one's media use (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Bryant & Zillman, 1984; Chaffee et al., 1990, 1991; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009; Foner, 1997; Gudykunst, 1988; Kim Y. Y., 1995; Messaris & Woo, 1991; Miladi, 2006; Rios, 2003; Walker, 1999). For example, Chaffee et al. (1990, 1991) observed that, among Korean-Americans, the more frequently one accesses American TV news, public affairs programming, and newspapers, one will have more knowledge of US politics and

more engage in discussions on US politics. Further, immigrants have been observed to intentionally use host media for the purpose of learning about the host society. Miladi (2006) found that Arab immigrants in the UK rely on host media with the intention of learning about current issues related to British politics. Elias and Lemish (2008; 2009) observed similar patterns among immigrant children's use of the Internet. Through interviews, they observed that immigrant children in Israel purposefully turn to the Internet with the motivation to familiarize themselves with the host culture, primarily because they find their parents incompetent and teachers unhelpful in guiding their experiences. In particular, the knowledge that immigrant children gain from the media—primarily knowledge of mainstream popular culture and sports—is integral in providing conversational topics for interactions with peers (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009).

Many scholars have also found that use of host media is highly associated with one's linguistic acculturation. Not only do immigrants with higher levels of host language fluency more often use media in the host language (Kim Y. Y., 1977; Lee I. H., 2005; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Stilling, 1997; Sunoo, Trotter, & Aames, 1980), but many immigrants consciously rely on host media, especially television, as a learning source for honing their host language skills (Elias & Lemish, 2008; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Johnson, 1996; Rios, 2003). Interestingly, use of print media (e.g., newspapers) or information-oriented TV content (e.g., news and public affairs programs, such as *20/20*; or informative game shows, such as *Jeopardy* and *Wheel of Fortune*) has been confirmed to be stronger indicators of English competence among immigrants to the US when

compared with use of electronic mass media (e.g., TV, radio) or entertainment-oriented TV content (e.g., film, soap operas, sports), respectively (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Sunoo et al., 1980).

In addition to the role of host media, scholars have observed the use of home, ethnic, or home-language media to be inconsistently associated with one's acculturation to host society. Some studies have found that use of such media is observed more frequently or intensely among immigrants who are limited in acculturative characteristics, while others have found associations with positive acculturation processes. A number of studies have shown that higher levels of using home or home-language media, including websites, are most commonly associated with lower levels of host language skills (Lee I. H., 2005; Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Lum, 1991; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Shoemaker, Reese, Danielson, & Hsu, 1987), and somewhat related to lack of understanding or endorsement of host culture values/norms, or lack of identification with host society (Chen, 2010; Lum, 1991; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Moreover, among international students in the US, it has been observed that high levels of cultural shock predict high levels of using home-language websites (Ye, 2005).

Nevertheless, many other studies have observed that ethnic media in particular, can also serve as an important information source about the host society, especially for those immigrants with lower levels of acculturation. For example, Chinese immigrants to the US, who are not comfortable with English, receive their news and information about the US from Chinese-language, ethnic media (Hwang B. & He, 1999; Lum, 1991; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002). Through these media immigrants are able to

access information on the general American lifestyle, American popular culture, and practical tips and guides for surviving and succeeding in the US. Studies have also shown that ethnic media tend to play an important role in disseminating information on health and local civic issues (Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008; Kim Y.-C. & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Wilkin & Ball-Rokeach, 2006; Wilkin et al., 2007), sometimes having a more effective impact than the mainstream, host media (Félix et al., 2008). The positive psychological impacts of using home-language media have also been noted, as such media have been found to reduce the everyday stress and isolation immigrants experience as foreigners in unfamiliar territory (Bahk & Jandt, 2004; Keshishian, 2000; Lee C., 2004; Lum, 1991; Rios, 2003).

Immigrants' Use of Media and Maintenance of Home Culture

Research has consistently shown that immigrants are very much invested in their home culture and are interested in keeping abreast of events occurring back home. Research also has shown that immigrants' use of media—in particular, home and ethnic media—is closely related to how much they maintain and rebuild their ties with home culture, in terms of attitudes, knowledge, language, and interpersonal ties.

First, a number of studies have asserted that use of home and ethnic media is associated with levels of ethnic-cultural identity and affective bonds to one's cultural heritage. This has been found to be the case with the consumption of home and ethnic news media (Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Miladi, 2006; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998) as well as with viewing of soap-operas from home (Barrera &

Bielby, 2001; Mayer, 2003). Moreover, in their study with Chinese students in the US, Melkote and Liu (2000) found that the more heavily one relies on Chinese-language websites for news and information on China and the local Chinese community, the stronger level of respect one will have toward Chinese values and traditions.

Next, it has been suggested that the use of home-language, home, and ethnic media are, in many similar ways, associated with immigrants' preservation and learning of not only the home language, but also knowledge of home society, including general information, current events, and traditional customs and values. Some studies have noted that one of the key motivations to seeking home and ethnic media, including home-language websites, is to keep up with events back in the home country, which in turn helps alleviate the concerns that immigrants have for their families and friends they left behind (Dakroury, 2006; Ehrkamp, 2005; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Lee C., 2004; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002). Further, several scholars have observed that within immigrant families, parents consciously integrate home media into their family life with hopes of assisting their children's learning of the home language, history, and culture (Dakroury, 2006; Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee C., 2004; Miladi, 2006). Along similar lines, Latinas state that their main reason for viewing *telenovelas* is to maintain fluency in Spanish and to re-learn the language after it has been forgotten (Barrera & Bielby, 2001).

More recently, the Internet has come to provide immigrants with the opportunity to sustain contact with family and friends back home (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2009; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2001; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Online communication platforms, such as email and newsgroups, also have allowed immigrants

to create and maintain ties with other co-ethnic immigrants undergoing similar experiences in the host society (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2001; Ye, 2006a, 2006b). These forms of online communication have been observed to provide informational and emotional support for first-generation immigrants experiencing difficulties in adjusting to a new environment.

Limitations to Current Understandings

As reviewed above, the increasing growth in the number of children in immigrant families and their distinct developmental and social status have raised important questions about their adjustment to and experience within the host society. However, beyond the existing literature, which is primarily concerned with the psychological and social experiences of immigrant adolescents in relation to their experiences of immigration, we have yet to learn more extensively about how their use of the media fits into the broader picture. Compared to the research conducted with immigrant adults on their use of both traditional mass media and newer digital media, such research with young immigrants in the US is sparse. The research that we do have on young immigrants within the US is mostly concerned with the media experience of children of Latino heritage (Korzenny et al., 1983; Mayer, 2003; Stilling, 1997), is based on a relatively small or non-representative sample (Durham, 2004), and/or is limited to investigations of mass media use. Further, such research tends to be simply descriptive in terms of basic usage information and does not actively explore media experiences in relation to personal immigration or cultural experiences.

Based on the research that we do have and the research conducted in other countries, adolescents have been found to consume both host and home media, in the form of music, soap operas, and online websites (Durham, 2004; Louie, 2003; Stilling, 1997). Girls tend to be higher users of home media whereas boys tend to engage in host media use more frequently. Further, it has been shown that media play an important role in immigrant adolescents' lives as they provide channels to keep in touch with friends and relatives as well as channels to accumulate information on their personal interests (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009). In addition, non-immigrant and immigrant adolescents share interests in typical teenage-cohort type material such as those regarding popular culture(Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Louie, 2003). Moreover, immigrant adolescents are more likely to have private, bedroom access to the computer and Internet than non-immigrant adolescents, reflecting the importance that immigrant parents place on ICT use (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Louie, 2003). Nevertheless, we have yet to learn more closely about the types and levels of online engagement that characterize immigrant adolescents and how these patterns of engagement relate to their immigrant, ethnic backgrounds.

THE PRESENT STUDY

As reviewed above, scholars have accumulated much knowledge of how teenagers access and engage with the online world. Nevertheless, we still lack knowledge of the specific online practices of immigrant adolescents. As a modest attempt to address this void, this study begins by exploring the general patterns of online access and

engagement that characterize Korean immigrant adolescents living in the US—one of the many understudied populations within the field of media and communication. Therefore, the first research question is established as follows:

RQ1. What are the general patterns of online access and engagement among Korean immigrant adolescents?

Various online access and engagement aspects will be considered, including (a) the types and context of Internet access, (b) the extent of Internet use, (c) the types of general online activities engaged in, (d) the types of online activities engaged in on Korean-language and English-language websites, and (e) the demographic variables that are associated with the different types of online activities.

As previous research of both young and older immigrants indicates, media play an important role in both processes of acculturating to host society and of maintaining or re-learning home culture. However, there is much to learn about how the use of the Internet figures into these processes. Considering the diversity of media, activities, and content that the Internet offers, it becomes quite appropriate to explore the role that the Internet plays in the acculturation and cultural maintenance of immigrants.

Much of the existing research on immigrants' media use tends to focus on media's role in regards to only one of the two cultural processes at a time and, in many instances, it is assumed that the two processes are inversely related. Based on the assertions of the bicultural model to cross-cultural adjustment, it is reasonable to conceive that an individual will undergo both cultural processes simultaneously and that

these processes will occur independently of one another and may be reflected in one's use of media in different ways. In order to acquire independent, yet comparable understandings of both processes, this study conceptualizes one's experiences with acculturation and cultural maintenance in terms of one's levels of cultural orientation toward the host culture and cultural orientation toward the home culture, respectively. In accordance with approaches that understand cultural orientations as being constructed of multidimensional processes, this study further conceptualizes and assesses cultural orientations in terms of five different dimensions: cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, knowledge of popular culture, language proficiency, and cultural social support.

Additionally, the Internet offers myriad opportunities to access information and entertainment content from both home and host cultures and to communicate with those in both the home and host societies, in the language of one's choosing. Based on the literature, immigrants use host and home media for both acculturation and cultural maintenance purposes, and such use tends to have related impacts. However, despite the increasing number of studies regarding immigrants' access to the Internet and their general online practices, the literature currently lacks research on the differential ways in which immigrants navigate between online activities based in the home culture and activities based in the host culture.

In sum, this study investigates the relationships between Korean immigrant adolescents' host-culture- and home-culture-based activities on the Internet and their

cultural orientations to the US and Korea, independently. Therefore, the following set of research questions is posed:

RQ2. How do Korean immigrant adolescents' orientation to Korean culture relate to their patterns of engagement with culture-specific online activities?

RQ3. How do Korean immigrant adolescents' orientation to American culture relate to their patterns of engagement with culture-specific online activities?

As seen in the existing literature, bicultural individuals can (a) have high levels of cultural orientation to both their host and home cultures, (b) be culturally oriented in only one of the two cultures, or (c) have low levels of cultural orientation in both cultures. Therefore, in order to comprehend the relationship between one's overall bicultural tendencies and one's media use, this study also explores how different levels of bicultural competence are associated with the different ways in which Korean immigrant adolescents use the Internet for both host-culture-based and home-culture-based activities. The final research question for this study is thus established as follows:

RQ4. How do Korean immigrant adolescents' levels of bicultural competence relate to their patterns of engagement with culture-specific online activities?

Chapter 3. Method

PROCEDURE AND SAMPLE

A paper-and-pencil questionnaire was used to collect the data for this study. Korean immigrant adolescents enrolled in middle and high schools were recruited through seventeen Korean-American churches and one Korean language school located across cities in Central Texas with dense Korean populations. All Korean-American churches listed on the Austin Korean Association website (www.austinkorean.net) were initially contacted. Of the nineteen listed, eleven churches agreed to assist with the recruitment of participants. The remaining churches on the list declined to participate, did not have adolescent churchgoers, or were unreachable due to incorrect contact information. Based on introductions from several Austin churchgoers, two churches located in San Antonio and four located in Killeen were additionally contacted and included in the study. The sizes of the churches varied, with the number of adolescent churchgoers ranging anywhere between 4 and 50.

A purposive sampling method was used based on the understanding of the wide reach of Korean schools among school-aged Korean immigrants (Zhou & Kim, 2006) and of Korean-American churches among Korean immigrants in general (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Min, 1992). Although the recruitment of participants primarily took place at churches, it must be noted that the roles and meanings of religious institutions for the Korean immigrant community differ greatly from those for other ethnic communities. It is known that the Korean-American churches serve purposes beyond that of religious

worship for Koreans in the US. Research has shown that Korean immigrants, including many of those who were not churchgoers in Korea before their move to the US, rely on the churches for social and emotional support, ethnic maintenance, information and services regarding vital family and life issues, and even social and economic status within the Korean immigrant community; thus, it has been argued that these institutions function similarly to the secular cultural organizations of other ethnic communities within the US (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Min, 1992). In addition, Korean-American churches, in particular, are attended by the majority of Korean immigrants in the US, "whether newcomers or old-timers, professionals or manual workers, assmiliated [*sic*] or not" (Hurh & Kim, 1990, p. 28). Therefore, these religious institutions provide access to a cross-section of Korean immigrants of diverse demographic, socio-economic, and acculturative backgrounds and have been considered sites of efficient recruitment for Korean research participants by a number of studies (e.g., Cho S. J. et al., 2003; Lee I. H., 2005; Moon & Park, 2007).

The study was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Texas at Austin. According to IRB guidelines, written parental consent was received from all respondents under the age of 18, and all respondents personally completed and submitted a written assent document. Consent documents informed the parents and respondents about the study's purpose and procedures, while clearly stating the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation. Data collection took place between September and November of 2010.

Of the 317 questionnaires that were distributed, a total of 168 were completed and returned, reaching a response rate of 53 percent. Table 3.1 summarizes the demographic

characteristics of the sample. All respondents are from families in which both parents are of Korean origin. The gender distribution of the sample is fairly balanced, with males composing 52 percent (n = 88) and females composing 48 percent (n = 80) of the total sample. The average age of the participants is 15.15 years (SD = 2.16), ranging from 11 to 19. Thirty-four percent of the sample (n = 57) are in middle school, grades 6 to 8, while the other 66 percent (n = 110) are high-school students, grades 9 to 12.

The majority of respondents come from families with highly educated backgrounds. Forty-four percent (n = 70) of the respondents' fathers have a postgraduate degree, 37 percent (n = 59) have a college degree, and 20 percent (n = 32) have a high school degree or less. Among the respondents' mothers, 20 percent (n = 33) have a postgraduate degree, 54 percent (n = 88) have a college degree, and 25 percent (n = 41) have a high school degree or less. Of the sample, 58 percent (n = 97) were born in Korea, and 42 percent (n = 70) were born in the US. Among the Korean-born adolescents, the average number of years resided in the US is 6.64 (SD = 5.17). About 57 percent (n = 55) of these Korean-born adolescents moved to the US before the age of 12.

The current familial environment varies across the respondents. All but three respondents live with at least one adult (98%, n = 164). Of all the respondents, sixty-eight percent lives with both parents (n = 113), while 13 percent (n = 22) lives with their mothers only and 1 percent (n = 2) lives with their fathers only. Nine percent (n = 10) of those respondents who live with both parents and 13 percent (n = 3) of those who live with only one of their parents also lives with at least one of their grandparents. Of the 18 percent (n = 30) of the entire sample who do not live with either one of their parents, the

majority (60%, *n* = 18) lives with an adult that is not a relative (e.g., family friend, homestay), about a quarter (23%, *n* = 7) lives with an aunt or uncle, one (3%) lives with his/her grandparent(s), one (3%) lives with an "Other" type of adult, and the remaining three (10%) report that they do not live with an adult; according to personal communication with some of the respondents, it is highly likely that this last group of respondents live in school dormitories. Additionally, while 94 percent (*n* = 157) of the entire sample have at least one sibling, only 83 percent of this group actually lives with them. Two of the three respondents who do not live with any adults report that they live with their sibling(s).

Table 3.1. Demographic Characteristics of Sample (*N* = 168)

Variables	*n*	Percentage (%) or Mean (and *SD*)
Gender		
Male	88	52.4
Female	80	47.6
TOTAL	168	100
Age	167	15.15 (2.16)
School Grade		
6	12	7.2
7	19	11.4
8	26	15.6
9	16	9.6
10	32	19.2
11	33	19.8
12	29	17.4
TOTAL	167	100
Country of Origin		
Korea	97	58.1
USA	70	41.9
TOTAL	167	100
Age at Move to US	97	9.24 (5.41)
Years of US Residence	97	6.64 (5.17)

Table 3.1. (continued)

Variables	*n*	Percentage (%)
Father's Education		
High school degree or less	32	19.8
College degree or other post-high-school degree	59	36.6
Postgraduate degree	70	43.5
TOTAL	161	100
Mother's Education		
High school degree or less	41	25.3
College degree or other post-high-school degree	88	54.3
Postgraduate degree	33	20.4
TOTAL	162	100
Adults Lived With (*N* = 167 per item)		
Father	115	69.3
Mother	135	80.8
Grandparent(s)	14	8.4
Aunt(s) or uncle(s)	8	4.8
Adult that is not a relative	20	11.9
Other	7	4.2
Do not live with an adult	3	1.8
Siblings Lived With		
Yes	130	77.8
No	27	16.1
Only child	10	5.9
TOTAL	167	100

MEASUREMENT

This section provides a brief description of how the variables used in this study were measured. The questions included in the questionnaire are reproduced in Appendix A. All composite measures used for this study were tested by confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The CFAs were conducted using the statistical software package, AMOS 6.0. Following Lee and Lim's (2007) guidelines, items for which the standardized regression weight presented weak effects (< .50) were removed from further calculation. The current

study uses the indices of the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; good models < .08) and the incremental fit index (IFI; good models > .90) to evaluate the fit of the CFA models, as suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999). The index scores for all CFAs performed suggest acceptable model fits and, thus, valid composite measures. The scores for the composite measures were calculated by computing the average scores of the individual items confirmed as significant components of a measure. All Cronbach's α scores indicate acceptable (> .70) or marginally acceptable (> .60) reliability.

First, the "general patterns of online access and engagement" addressed in RQ1 were measured in terms of types and extent of online access, general online activities, and cultural-specific online activities. The individual measures are described below.

Offline Media Use

Respondents were first asked to report the total number of hours they spend, on a typical day, engaging in different types of offline media activities, including reading a newspaper, reading a book, watching TV, listening to music, and using a computer. This information on non-Internet activities was collected in order to provide comparisons with the extent of time respondents spend online.

Online Access

In order to measure the types and levels of access that Korean immigrant adolescents have to the Internet, the following information was collected: (a) the availability of access to a computer and the Internet at home; (b) the types of portable media devices one personally owns, which are equipped with online capabilities,

including mobile phones, hand-held media players, and hand-held game devices; (c) the types of Internet connection one has at home; (d) the locations at which one uses the Internet; (e) the frequency with which one uses their portable media device to connect to the Internet; and (f) the total number of hours one spends online on a typical day, across all devices. In order to understand earlier experiences of access, data were collected regarding the first age at which one learned how to use the Internet and the personal resources that assisted one's learning about the Internet.

General Online Activities

Respondents rated on a 5-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Very often), how often, on a normal day, they engaged in sixteen different types of online activities. The sixteen items were reduced to nine items for the analysis. Considering their distinct nature and significance in the lives of adolescents (Lenhart et al., 2007; Rideout et al., 2010), the four items measuring activities of *email* (M = 3.37, SD = 1.21), *instant messaging* (M = 3.34, SD = 1.27), *games* (M = 2.90, SD = 1.36), and *music* (M = 4.07, SD = 1.12) were maintained as single item measures. A CFA was performed with the remaining twelve items, confirming five different factors (χ^2 = 101.71, df = 44, p = .021, IFI = .988, SRMR = .080). The first factor, *social communication*, consists of three items that represent communication activities that take place publically, in a non-dyadic context, with the intention that a post or conversation will be viewed by a large number of unspecified others. The items include updating and visiting personal profiles on social network sites and working on personal web pages or blogs (M = 3.15, SD = 1.11, α = .79). The second

factor of *watching videos* consists of two items: watching short video clips and watching movies or TV shows (M = 3.46, SD = 1.07, α = .64). The third factor confirmed by the CFA is *information seeking*, which is composed of four items that measure the frequencies with which one engages in searching for news about current events, information about issues hard to talk about in person, and information about personal hobbies (M = 2.90, SD = 1.02, α = .78). *School-related work* is the fourth factor and is made up of two items: conducting research for homework and visiting one's school webpage (M = 3.68, SD = 1.02, α = .69). The fifth factor is *shopping*, which consists of two items that measure one's frequency of getting information regarding potential purchases and of actually purchasing a product (M = 2.74, SD = 1.12, α = .73). The original items, standardized regression weights for each item, and reliability scores for each factor are presented in Table B.1 of Appendix B.

Cultural-Specific Online Activities

First, respondents were asked to report the frequency with which they visit Korean-language websites; for example, Daum.com, Naver.com, Cyworld.com, Google Korea (Google.co.kr), Yahoo! Korea (kr.yahoo.com), Chosun.com, and KBS.co.kr. Second, respondents were asked to report the frequency with which they visit English-language websites; for example, Google.com, Yahoo.com, Facebook.com MySpace.com, NYTimes.com, and NBC.com. The responses for both questions were measured on a 6-point ordinal scale (1 = Everyday, 2 = A few days a week, 3 = About once a week, 4 = Once every few weeks, 5 = Once every few months, 6 = Never).

Next, the specific online activities conducted within Korean-language websites and English-language websites were measured individually. The two dimensions, *Korean-website activities* and *English-website activities*, are each composed of paralleling, four online-activity variables: (a) *email*, (b) *social networking*, (c) *entertainment media*, and (d) *information seeking*. Each variable represents the likelihood with which one engages in the particular activity when on a Korean-language website or on an English-language website. For example, the likelihood to email on a Korean-language website and the likelihood to email on an English-language website were individually measured, both on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Very unlikely, 5 = Very likely). Email and social networking are single item measures, while entertainment media and information seeking are composed of two and five items, respectively, for both Korean- and English-language websites.

Two separate CFAs were conducted: (1) with all the items for entertainment media and information seeking in Korean-language websites and (2) with the paralleling seven items for English-language websites. Due to low standardized regression weights, one of the items—"Look up information about pop culture and entertainment (ex. info or gossip about movies, TV shows, sports, celebrities)"—was removed from the information seeking measure for both Korean- and English-language website dimensions. Consequently, CFA results confirmed the two composite measures for both the Korean-website activities dimension (χ^2 = 17.96, *df* = 8, *p* = .021, IFI = .994, SRMR = .041) and English-website activities dimension (χ^2 = 10.80, *df* = 8, *p* = .021, IFI = .999, SRMR

= .042). The original items, standardized regression weights for each item, and reliability scores for each factor are presented in Table B.2 of Appendix B.

Cultural Orientations

This construct is composed of and measured in terms of five dimensions: cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, knowledge of popular culture, language proficiency, and cultural social support. For each of the five dimensions, levels of Korean orientation and levels of American (or non-Korean) orientation are measured separately. The original items, standardized regression weights for each item, and reliability scores for each factor composing the cultural orientation dimensions are presented collectively in Table B.3 of Appendix B.

Cultural identity. *Korean identity* (M = 4.14, SD = 0.91, α = .92) and *American identity* (M = 3.52, SD = 1.06, α = .93) are each composed of four parallel items. These items were derived from the Cultural Identity sub-dimension of the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (Zea et al., 2003). The items were further modified to measure the cultural identities specific to both Korea and the US and to be measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree). A CFA was conducted with all items and confirmed the validity of the two measures (χ^2 = 60.51, df = 19, p = .000, IFI = .096, SRMR = .064) (see Table B.3).

Knowledge of cultural values and norms. Five items were created to measure the respondents' levels of perceived knowledge regarding the cultural values and norms of both Korea and the US. The items ask respondents to rate how familiar they are

with familial and educational values as well as behavioral norms regarding interactions with adults and peers within both cultural contexts. The five items were measured individually for *knowledge of Korean values and norms* (M = 3.84, SD = 1.14, α = .95) and *knowledge of American values and norms* (M = 3.61, SD = 0.98, α = .93) on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Not at all familiar, 5 = Extremely familiar) (see Table B.3).

Knowledge of popular culture. Three items were created to measure the respondents' levels of perceived knowledge regarding the popular culture of both Korea and the US. The items asked respondents to rate how familiar they are with television shows, music, and celebrities in each culture. The three items were measured individually for both *knowledge of Korean popular culture* (M = 3.37, SD = 1.33, α = .93) and *knowledge of American popular culture* (M = 3.46, SD = 1.03, α = .85) on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Not at all familiar, 5 = Extremely familiar) (see Table B.3).

Two CFAs were performed to test the validity of the four knowledge measures: (1) with all eight items measuring the two types of knowledge regarding Korean culture, and (2) with all eight items measuring the two types of knowledge regarding American culture. The model including both Korean knowledge measures as separate factors (χ^2 = 54.36, df = 19, p = .000, IFI = .974, SRMR = .043) as well as the model including both American knowledge measures (χ^2 = 48.53, df = 19, p = .000, IFI = .969, SRMR = .033) were confirmed to be good fits.

Language proficiency. *Korean proficiency* (M = 3.35, SD = 1.28, α = .94) and *English proficiency* (M = 4.12, SD = 1.06, α = .95) were each composed of four paralleling items that measured the respondents' perceived abilities in regards to their

speaking, listening, writing, and reading of each language. The items were measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Poor, 5 = Excellent) (see Table B.3). A CFA with all items confirmed the validity of the two measures (χ^2 = 152.62, *df* = 19, *p* = .000, IFI = .906, SRMR = .049).

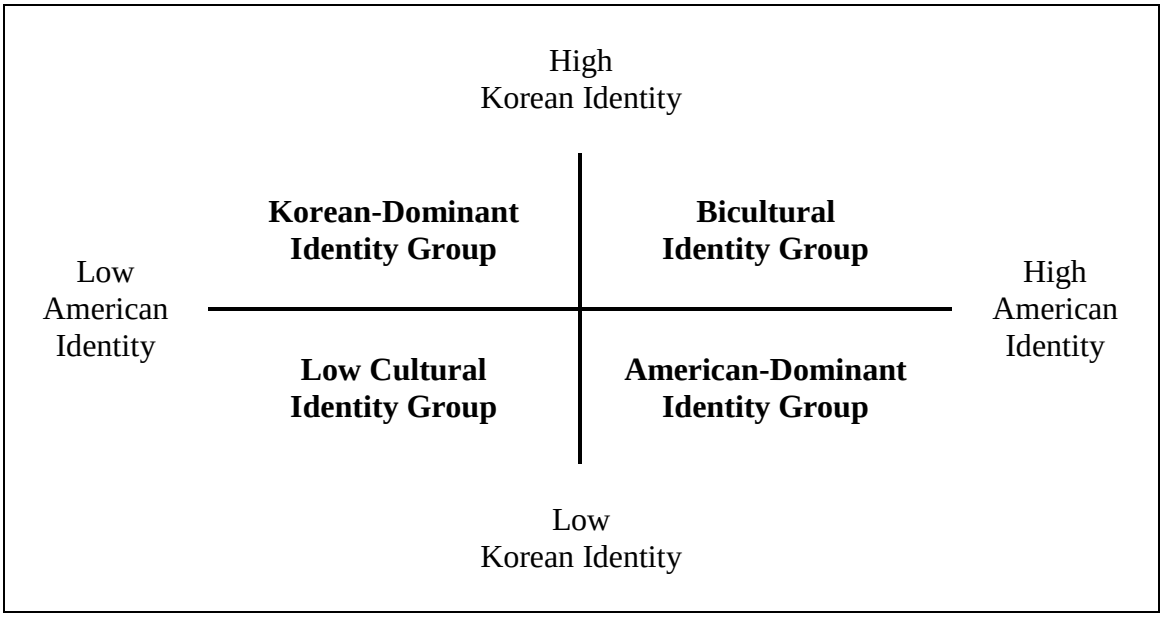
Cultural social support. *Korean social support* (*M* = 3.81, *SD* = 1.08, α = .94) and *non-Korean social support* (*M* = 3.63, *SD* = 1.19, α = .96) were each measured by four parallel items that measured the levels of perceived support from friends of Korean background and from friends who are not of Korean background, respectively. The items were derived from the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List (Cohen & Hoberman, 1983), but modified to reflect the interests of teenagers and to measure support received from different cultural peer groups. For example, respondents were asked to rate, on a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree), how much they agreed to the statement, "If I had to go out of town for a few weeks, it would be difficult to find a Korean(-American) friend who would take notes for me at school or keep me up to date about school assignments." They were also asked to respond to a parallel statement regarding a "non-Korean friend" (see Table B.3). A CFA was conducted with all eight items, and the criteria of goodness of fit were met (χ^2 = 56.19, *df* = 19, *p* = .000, IFI = .969, SRMR = .035).

Bicultural Competence

For each of the five cultural orientation dimensions, four different groups representing different levels of bicultural competence were created. Using the dimension

of *cultural identity* as an example, the first step involved calculating the mean scores for both *Korean identity* and *American identity*. Cases that scored higher than the mean for Korean identity were coded as "high Korean identity" and those that scored lower than the mean were coded as "low Korean identity." The same process was applied to the American identity variable, resulting in cases coded as either "high American identity" or "low American identity." Finally, taking each case's levels of Korean identity and American identity into simultaneous consideration, four groups that each represents different levels of bicultural identity were created—*bicultural identity* (28%, *n* = 45), *Korean-dominant identity* (27%, *n* = 43), *American-dominant identity* (21%, *n* = 34), and *low cultural identity* (25%, *n* = 40)—as visualized in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Groups by Levels of Bicultural Identity



The same process was conducted for the other four dimensions of cultural orientation. For the dimension of knowledge of cultural values and norms, 35 percent (*n* = 58) are identified as having *bicultural knowledge*, 22 percent (*n* = 37) as having *Korean-dominant knowledge*, 16 percent (*n* = 26) as having *American-dominant knowledge*, and 27 percent (*n* = 44) as having *low cultural knowledge*. Next, for the dimension of knowledge of popular culture, 30 percent (*n* = 49) are identified as having *bicultural pop knowledge*, 22 percent as (*n* = 36) having *Korean-dominant pop knowledge*, 24 percent (*n* = 40) as having *American-dominant pop knowledge*, and 24 percent (*n* = 40) as having *low cultural pop knowledge*. Regarding language proficiency, 21 percent (*n* = 35) of the respondents show *bilingual proficiency*, 28 percent (*n* = 46) *Korean-dominant proficiency*, 36 percent (*n* = 59) *English-dominant proficiency*, and 15 percent (*n* = 25) *low linguistic proficiency*. Last, in terms of cultural social support, those classified in the *bicultural support* group make up 40 percent (*n* =65) of the sample, *Korean-dominant support* 17 percent (*n* = 27), *non-Korean-dominant support* 23 percent (*n* = 37), and *low social support* 20 percent (*n* = 33).

Demographic Characteristics

Respondents were asked to report their gender (male or female) and age (in years). They were also asked to identify the level of educational attainment for each of their parents: Less than high school degree; High school degree (No college education); Some college education (But no degree; did not graduate); College degree or other post-

high-school degree; or Post-graduate degree (ex. Medical, Law, Master's, Doctoral, MBA, etc.) (see Table 3.1).

Respondents' country of origin was measured by asking in which country one was born: USA, Korea, or other. Those who were not born in the US were further asked to report the age at which they moved to the US (see Table 3.1). In order to consider, in a valid manner, the length of one's experience in the US for both US-born and Korean-born respondents, the variable, *US residence to lifetime ratio*, was calculated for each case in the sample by dividing length of US residence (as calculated by subtracting age at US move from current age) by current age. Respondents have lived anywhere from 3 percent of their lives to 100 percent in the US, with 38 percent of the sample having lived less than half their lifetime in the US.

Chapter 4. Findings

The first section of this chapter discusses the findings concerning RQ1, addressing patterns of (a) the types, context, and extent of online access, (b) engagement with different types of general online activities, including the demographic predictors for each of these activities, and (c) engagement with different types of activities on Korean-language and English-language websites, including the demographic predictors for each of these activities. The second section presents the findings in regards to RQ2 and RQ3, addressing the relationships between (a) Korean and American cultural orientations and (b) online activities that take place on Korean-language and English-language websites. The third section presents the findings for RQ4 regarding the relationships between one's bicultural competencies and the activities one takes part in on Korean and English-language websites.

PATTERNS OF ONLINE ACCESS AND ENGAGEMENT

Online Access

Table 4.1 shows the percentages of total respondents who have access to or who own media devices with online capabilities, including computers, mobile phones, portable media players, and portable game devices. As the table below presents, the respondents are a technologically rich group with access to multiple forms of access to the online world. Above all, all respondents report that they have access to a computer and

Table 4.1. Percentages for Ownership of Media Devices with Online Capabilities (N = 168)

Media Devices	*n*	Percentage (%)
Access at Home		
Computer	168	100
Internet	168	100
Personal Ownership		
Regular Mobile Phone	79	47.0
Smartphone	45	26.8
Portable Media Player (ex. iPod Touch, Zune HD, Archos)	67	39.9
Portable Game Device (ex. Sony PSP, Nintendo DS)	49	29.2

an Internet connection at their current place of residence, therefore, suggesting that the demographic background of the respondents does not have an effect on whether or not one has access to the Internet. In addition to the computer, respondents have high access to alternative devices that offer online connections. Approximately 80 percent (n = 132) of the total sample personally owns a mobile phone. Of these mobile phone owners, the majority (64%, n = 79) owns a regular feature-phone, while a smaller portion (36%, n = 45) owns a smartphone. In total, approximately 94 percent (n = 158) of the respondents own at least one portable, hand-held device equipped with online capabilities.

As shown in Table 4.2, the majority of respondents have access to computers and the Internet at multiple locations. Although almost all respondents most often use the Internet at home, the majority reports that they also use the Internet at school or at acquaintances' residences. The quality of access is high as well, with 83 percent (n = 139) of the respondents having access to high-speed Internet at home in the form of either broadband or wireless connections (66%, n = 110) or both (17%, n = 29). Although the majority of respondents own a hand-held device with online capabilities (Table 4.1), less than half of those owners use their devices to access the Internet on a daily basis (Table

4.2). This suggests that the computer is the most preferred or most easily accessible means of connecting to the Internet among the respondents.

Table 4.2. Percentages for Online Access Variables

Variables	*n*	Percentage (%)
Locations Used for Internet Access with Computer (*N* = 168 per item)		
Home	168	100
School	135	80.4
Friend's or relative's house	116	69.0
Public library	72	42.9
Someplace else	40	23.8
Location Most Often Used for Internet Access with Computer		
Home	163	97.0
School	3	1.8
Friend's or relative's house	2	1.2
Public library	0	0
Someplace else	0	0
TOTAL	168	100
Type of Internet Connection at Home (*N* = 168 per item)		
Telephone dial-up	16	9.5
Broadband (DSL or cable)	55	32.7
Wireless	113	67.3
Do not know	23	13.7
Frequency of Internet Access with Hand-Held Device		
Every day	56	36.4
A few days a week	23	14.9
About once a week	10	6.5
Once every few weeks	10	6.5
Once every few months	6	3.9
Never	49	31.8
TOTAL	154	100
First Introduction to Internet		
Father or mother	61	36.5
Brother or sister	28	16.8
Friend	35	21.0
Teacher (ex. class at school)	11	6.6
Myself	34	14.4
Someone else	8	4.8
TOTAL	167	100

Review of the respondents' earliest online experiences show that the average age at which respondents first used the Internet is 8.18 years (*SD* = 2.55, Range = 3-15). Additionally, more than half of the respondents report that they first learned how to use the Internet from either their parents or siblings, indicating that the Korean teens' first experiences with the Internet started at home with the family (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.3 presents the descriptive statistics regarding the daily time that respondents spend offline with different types of mass media individually and the daily time that they spend online. Paired-samples t-tests among the six time variables show that all mean differences are significant at $p < .05$, except for the mean difference of reading books and watching TV. The findings suggest the strong, digital nature of the respondents' use of media. The respondents' daily time with media is most largely spent online, with respondents spending an average of 2.97 hours using the Internet across all Internet-connecting devices. The respondents also spend a relatively great amount of time using computers offline when compared to their use of other types of media, besides listening to music.

Table 4.3. Descriptive Statistics for Time Spent with Media (Hours per Day)

Media	*n*	Minimum	Maximum	*M*	*SD*
Online[a]	168	0	12	2.97	2.50
Computers[b]	161	0	10	1.82	2.04
Newspapers[b]	162	0	7.17	0.21	0.65
Books[b]	161	0	15	1.33	1.59
TV[b]	161	0	12	1.35	1.61
Music[b]	162	0	12	2.54	2.68

Note: [a.] Time spent online across all Internet-connecting devices
[b.] Time spent offline with each medium

General Online Activities

Among the Korean adolescent respondents, listening to music is the online activity most frequently engaged in on a typical day (*M* = 4.07, *SD* = 1.12). School-related work (*M* = 3.68, *SD* = 1.02) is the second most frequented online activity, followed by watching videos (*M* = 3.46, *SD* = 1.07), email (*M* = 3.37, *SD* = 1.21), instant messaging (*M* = 3.34, *SD* = 1.27), and social networking or blogging (*M* = 3.15, *SD* = 1.11). The least frequent online activities among the respondents are playing games (*M* = 2.90, *SD* = 1.36), searching for general information (*M* = 2.90, *SD* = 1.02), and shopping (*M* = 2.74, *SD* = 1.12) (see Table B.1 of Appendix B).

In order to identify the demographic variables that predict how much Korean immigrant adolescents use the Internet and what they do online, a multiple regression analysis was conducted with the independent variables of gender, age, US residence to lifetime ratio, father's education, and mother's education. The results show that the total time one spends online is positively and significantly predicted by one's age and US residence to lifetime ratio (see Table 4.4).

When examining the relationship between the demographic variables and individual online activities, age is found to be the most common predictor of the different types of activities, significantly and positively predicting all activities except for playing games. Age is also the strongest predictor for email, instant messaging, music, social communication, information seeking, and shopping activities. US residence to lifetime ratio also serves as a significant predictor for a number of online activities, negatively predicting email and school-related work, while positively predicting social communication

Table 4.4. Standardized Coefficients for Demographic Predictors of Online Time and Activities

Demographic Predictors	Online Total	Email	IM	Games	Music	Social Comm	Video	Info	School	Shop
Gender (Female)	-.03	.08	.05	-.27**	.10	.11	.01	-.19*	.00	-.02
Age	.35***	.23**	.28**	-.09	.26**	.33***	.15†	.39***	.21**	.20*
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	.25**	-.19*	-.00	.11	.12	.14†	.18*	-.08	-.13†	-.02
Father's Edu 1 (HS Degree or Less)	-.09	-.06	-.12	-.06	-.09	-.09	-.12	.04	-.09	-.09
Father's Edu 2 (Post-Grad Degree)	-.03	.13	-.03	-.02	-.06	-.10	-.01	-.03	.24*	.10
Mother's Edu 1 (HS Degree or Less)	.07	-.13	-.05	.08	.07	.08	.16	-.01	.04	.15
Mother's Edu 2 (Post-Grad Degree)	.12	.01	.01	-.01	.04	.10	.04	-.04	-.13	.06
R^2	.16	.18	.09	.10	.08	.13	.06	.21	.14	.07

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

and watching videos. In terms of gender, boys more frequently engage in playing games and information seeking than girls. Father's post-graduate education positively predicts the respondents' frequencies of engaging in school-related work online, but it is the only predictor regarding parents' education that has any statistically significant effect on the respondents' online activities.

Culture-Specific Online Activities

Table 4.5 presents the frequencies with which the respondents visit websites in the Korean and English languages. The results show that Korean adolescents most frequently turn to English-language websites. While more than two-thirds visit English-language websites on a daily basis, less than a third visit Korean-language websites on a daily basis. Approximately 27 percent do not visit Korean websites at all, whereas all respondents use English websites at least once every few months.

Table 4.5. Percentages for Frequency of Visits to Korean- and English-Language Websites

Frequency of Visit	Websites			
	Korean-Language		English-Language	
	n	%	*n*	%
Every Day	50	30.1	125	76.2
A Few Days a Week	32	19.3	27	16.5
About Once a Week	12	7.2	7	4.3
Once Every Few Weeks	9	5.4	4	2.4
Once Every Few Months	18	10.8	1	0.6
Never	45	27.1	164	0
TOTAL	166	100	164	100

Table 4.6 presents the means and standard deviations for each of the different activities performed within culturally different websites. Whether they are on a Korean- or English-language website, respondents are most likely to be using entertainment media, that is, listening to music or watching video content. Paired samples t-tests with paralleling activities confirm that the likelihoods to be engaged in email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking on English websites are all significantly larger than the likelihoods to be engaged in the same activities within Korean websites. This is consistent with the findings above that show that respondents more frequently rely on English websites than they do Korean websites.

Table 4.6. Means, Standard Deviations, and Paired Samples T-Tests for Culture-Specific Online Activities

Activities	Websites				*t* (*df* = 120)
	Korean Language (*n* = 124)		English Language (*n* = 163)		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Email	2.88	1.48	3.56	1.31	-4.66***
Social Networking	2.57	1.40	3.65	1.28	-7.46***
Entertainment Media	3.35	1.19	3.71	1.07	-2.49*
Information Seeking	2.65	1.17	3.10	1.02	-4.19***

*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Additionally, in order to identify whether demographic characteristics have an effect on the kinds of online activities performed within websites of different languages and cultures, multiple regression analyses were conducted with gender, age, US residence to lifetime ratio, and parents' education. The standardized coefficients for the demographic variables are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Standardized Coefficients for Demographic Predictors of Culture-Specific Online Activities

Demographic Predictors	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Gender (Female)	-.03	.02	.17†	-.09	.19*	.07	.11	-.00
Age	-.02	.14	.06	.12	.18*	.28***	.11	.32***
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	-.44***	-.19*	-.18†	-.31**	.02	.13	.21*	.04
Father's Edu 1 (HS Degree or Less)	-.10	-.23†	-.15	-.09	.05	-.00	-.02	.03
Father's Edu 2 (Post-Grad Degree)	-.13	-.11	-.05	-.06	.22*	.02	.08	.08
Mother's Edu 1 (HS Degree or Less)	-.01	.11	.04	-.01	-.14	-.08	.08	-.13
Mother's Edu 2 (Post-Grad Degree)	-.02	-.03	.04	.04	-.08	.04	-.05	-.15†
R^2	.24	.09	.08	.15	.14	.10	.08	.14

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

First, reviewing Korean-website activities, US residence to lifetime ratio is observed to be a common negative predictor across all activities. Gender is a significant independent variable in relation to entertainment media, with girls being more likely than boys to engage in this activity on a Korea website. Additionally, those respondents whose fathers have a high school degree or less are less likely than those who have fathers with higher education levels to engage in social networking on a Korean website.

Respondents' age and mother's education are not found to be significant predictors of any of the activities that take place on Korean websites.

Next, analysis of the activities engaged in on English websites shows that age is the most common significant predictor across all activities, positively predicting email, social networking, and information seeking activities. US residence to lifetime ratio positively predicts use of entertainment media only. While father's post-graduate degree positively predicts email activities, mother's post-graduate degree negatively predicts information seeking activities on English websites.

CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS AND CULTURE-SPECIFIC ONLINE ACTIVITIES

In order to address RQ2 and RQ3, five series of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted corresponding to the five dimensions of cultural orientation. For each dimension (e.g., cultural identity), the corresponding Korean and American orientations (e.g., Korean identity and American identity) were simultaneously entered as the main predictor variables, while the four Korean-website activities and the four English-website activities (i.e., email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking) were each considered as individual dependent variables. Therefore, for each dimension of cultural orientation, a total of eight hierarchical regression analyses were run. Additionally, considering the significant effects of age and US residence to lifetime ratio as observed in the findings above, the two variables were entered as control variables for all analyses. The correlation matrix with all variables included in the hierarchical regression analyses is given in Appendix C.

Cultural Identity

The first series of hierarchical regression analyses examined whether and how Korean and American identities predict levels of likelihood to engage in email, social networking, entertainment, and information seeking on both Korean- and English-language websites (see Table 4.8). First, the findings show that Korean identity does not significantly predict the likelihood to engage in any activity on Korean-language sites. Meanwhile, American identity negatively predicts Korean adolescents' likelihood to use email and to seek for information on a Korean website, after controlling for age and US residence to lifetime ratio. Concerning English-website activities, after controlling for age and length of US residence, the likelihood to engage in social networking on English websites is marginally and positively predicted by one's Korean identity. American identity positively predicts Korean adolescents' likelihoods to engage in social networking, to use entertainment media, and to seek for information on English websites.

Table 4.8. Standardized Coefficients for Cultural Identities Predicting Korean- and English-Website Activities

Variables	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Block 1: Control Variables								
Age	-.04	.10	.02	.10	.16*	.26**	.12	.32***
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	-.37***	-.20	-.19†	-.25**	.05	.08	.09	-.08
Block 2: Main Predictors								
Korean Identity	-.02	.11	.14	-.03	.12	.13†	.02	-.01
American Identity	-.18†	-.03	-.01	-.21*	-.01	.15†	.25**	.16†
ΔR^2	.03	.01	.02	.04†	.02	.04*	.05*	.02
R^2	.24***	.07	.06	.17***	.04	.11*	.10**	.12***

Note: All standardized regression coefficients (β's) are from the final step in the hierarchical regression. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Knowledge of Cultural Values and Norms

The second series of hierarchical regression analyses examined the relationships between (a) knowledge of Korean and American values and norms and (b) likelihoods to engage in email, social networking, media, and information seeking within both Korean- and English-language websites (see Table 4.9). In regards to Korean-website activities, lower levels of knowledge regarding the cultural values and norms of American society significantly predict higher levels of likelihood to engage in emailing, social networking, and information seeking activities on Korean websites, after controlling for age and US residence to lifetime ratio. However, knowledge of Korean values and norms does not predict the likelihood to engage in any of the four activities.

In regards to English-website activities, after controlling for the two demographic variables, knowledge of Korean values and norms positively predicts only email activities on English websites. Meanwhile, knowledge of American values and norms positively predicts all four activities that take place on English websites. For all final models, the addition of the second block consisting of the two main predictor variables produces significant increases in R^2, indicating the strong and significant contribution of those variables in explaining the variance in the dependent variables.

Table 4.9. Standardized Coefficients for Knowledge of Cultural Values and Norms Predicting Korean- and English-Website Activities

Variables	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Block 1: Control Variables								
Age	-.03	.09	.03	.12	.12	.23**	.14†	32***
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	-.41***	-.13	-.23*	-.26**	.06*	.09	.07	-.09
Block 2: Main Predictors								
Knowledge of Korean Values/Norms	.01	.13	.04	.03	.24**	.10	-.14	-.08
Knowledge of American Values/Norms	-.17†	-.19†	.14	-.25**	.22**	.27**	.33***	.28**
ΔR^2	.02	.03	.02	.05*	.13***	.08***	.09***	.06**
R^2	.24***	.09*	.06	.19***	.16***	.18***	.14***	.16***

Note: All standardized regression coefficients (β's) are from the final step in the hierarchical regression. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Knowledge of Popular Culture

The third series of hierarchical regression analyses examined the relationships between (a) knowledge of both Korean and American popular cultures and (b) likelihoods to engage in the four types of online activities within both Korean- and English-language websites (see Table 4.10). The results concerning Korean-website activities show that all activities are significantly predicted by either one or both of the main predictor variables. After controlling for the two demographic variables, Korean adolescents who are more familiar with Korean popular culture are more likely to engage in social networking and to use entertainment media on Korean websites than those who are less familiar with Korean popular culture. Meanwhile, regardless of their familiarity with Korean popular culture, Korean adolescents who are less familiar with US popular culture are more likely to use email, to engage in social networking, and to seek

information on Korean websites than those who are more familiar with US popular culture. Further, the contributions of the main predictor variables are also notable as their inclusion into the models explains an additional 6 to 15 percent of the variance in the dependent variables.

Examining the relationship between knowledge of popular culture and English-website activities, it can be observed that, while controlling for age and US residence to lifetime ratio, knowledge of American popular culture is a significant predictor, in a positive direction, for all four types of online activities. Korean adolescents who are more familiar with US popular culture, compared to those who are less familiar, are more likely to engage in email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking on English websites. Meanwhile, Korean adolescents who are more familiar with Korean popular culture are more likely than their less-familiar counterparts to update and visit personal profiles on English-language websites, regardless of their knowledge of US popular culture. The inclusion of the main predictor variables significantly contributes to the final models. The increments in R^2 after the addition of the second block for the two models of social networking and entertainment are most notable, indicating the blocks' contribution of an extra 14 percent and 23 percent explanation regarding the variance in the two dependent variables, respectively.

Table 4.10. Standardized Coefficients for Knowledge of Popular Culture Predicting Korean- and English-Website Activities

Variables	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Block 1: Control Variables								
Age	-.03	.07	-.02	.11	.15†	.19**	.11	.30***
US Residence to Lifetime ratio	-.39***	-.09	-.18†	-.24**	.04	.19*	.11	-.02
Block 2: Main Predictors								
Knowledge of Korean Pop Culture	.04	.29**	.32***	.10	.12	.29***	-.01	.03
Knowledge of American Pop Culture	-.26**	-.32***	.07	-.32***	.21**	.23**	.49***	.18*
ΔR^2	.06*	.15***	.11**	.09**	.06**	.14***	.23***	.03†
R^2	.28***	.21***	.15**	.23***	.10**	.23***	.28***	.13***

Note: All standardized regression coefficients (β's) are from the final step in the hierarchical regression. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Language Proficiency

The fourth series of hierarchical regression analyses examined the relationships among (a) proficiencies in both Korean and English languages, and (b) likelihoods to engage in the four online activities within both Korean- and English-language websites (Table 4.11). After controlling for the two demographic variables, language proficiencies predict only social networking on Korean websites. Both Korean and English language competencies positively predict the likelihood to engage in social networking on Korean websites. The increment in R^2 after including these variables is marginally significant.

The analysis of the relationships among language proficiencies and English-website activities show that one's perceived competence in the Korean language positively and significantly predicts email activities. The addition of the main predictor block accounts for 7 percent of the variance in emailing on English websites.

Table 4.11. Standardized Coefficients for Language Proficiencies Predicting Korean- and English-Website Activities

Variables	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Block 1: Control Variables								
Age	-.04	.08	.03	.11	.16*	.25**	.12	.31***
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	-.45***	-.20*	-.16†	-.34***	.14†	.17*	.23**	.03
Block 2: Main Predictors								
Korean Proficiency	.08	.19*	.15	-.01	.31***	.12	.04	.07
English Proficiency	.04	.17†	.00	-.04	.08	.09	-.03	.01
ΔR^2	.01	.05†	.02	.00	.07**	.01	.00	.00
R^2	.22***	.10*	.06	.14**	.11**	.10**	.06†	.10**

Note: All standardized regression coefficients (β's) are from the final step in the hierarchical regression. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Cultural Social Support

The fifth and final series of hierarchical regression analyses examined the relationships among (a) Korean and non-Korean social support and (b) likelihoods to engage in the four types of online activities within both Korean- and English-language websites (Table 4.12). Korean social support is inversely related to information seeking on Korean websites only, on a marginally significant level. Non-Korean social support does not predict the likelihood to take part in any of the activities on a Korean website.

On the other hand, more significant relationships are identified between social support and English-website activities. In particular, higher levels of non-Korean social support are found to predict higher likelihoods to email, to use entertainment media, and to seek for information on English websites.

Table 4.12. Standardized Coefficients for Cultural Social Support Predicting Korean- and English-Website Activities

Variables	Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
	Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Block 1: Control Variables								
Age	-.01	.13	.04	.15	.17*	.24**	.12	.32***
US Residence to Lifetime Ratio	-.45***	-.17†	-.18†	-.31***	.02	.13†	.18*	-.00
Block 2: Main Predictors								
Korean Social Support	-.07	-.05	.01	-.17†	.06	.13	-.02	-.11
Non-Korean Social Support	-.09	-.15	-.02	-.10	.20*	.10	.20*	.17*
ΔR^2	.02	.03	.00	.04†	.05*	.03†	.04†	.03†
R^2	.24***	.08†	.04	.18***	.08*	.12***	.09**	.13***

Note: All standardized regression coefficients (β's) are from the final step in the hierarchical regression. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

BICULTURAL COMPETENCE AND CULTURE-SPECIFIC ONLINE ACTIVITIES

The fourth research question asked how Korean immigrant adolescents' levels of bicultural competence relate to their use of Korean-language and English-language websites. To answer this question, this study focused on assessing (a) the differences in Korean-website activities across groups of differing levels of bicultural competence and (b) the differences in English-website activities across groups of differing levels of bicultural competence. Five different types of bicultural competence were considered and tested for individually, based on the five dimensions of cultural orientation. The five types of bicultural competence are identified as *bicultural identity*, *bicultural knowledge of values and norms*, *bicultural knowledge of popular cultures*, *bilingual proficiency*, and *bicultural social support*.

For each dimension of cultural orientation, a series of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to assess whether there exist any differences in culture-specific online activities among the four groups defined by differing levels of bicultural competence. Subsequently, Bonferroni post-hoc comparison tests were conducted to identify which particular groups significantly differ from one another.

Bicultural Identity

Table 4.13 summarizes the test results of the one-way ANOVA conducted to detect differences in levels of culture-specific online activities by levels of bicultural identity. The tests reveal that likelihoods to email and to seek for information on Korean websites differ significantly across the four groups. Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicate that, for email on Korean websites, the Korean-Dominant Identity group shows significantly higher scores (M = 3.48) than the Bicultural Identity group (M = 2.03), p = .000. The Korean-Dominant Identity group (M = 3.02) shows higher scores than the Bicultural Identity group (M = 2.12) in terms of information seeking on Korean websites as well, p = .005.

Among English-website activities, differences across groups are found only with use of entertainment media. Post-hoc comparisons find that the Korean-Dominant Identity group (M = 3.39) scores lower than the Bicultural Identity group (M = 4.04), p = .027.

Table 4.13. Differences in Korean- and English-Website Activities by Levels of Bicultural Identity

		n	*M*	*SD*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Korean-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Identity	31	2.03_a	1.33	3, 117	6.37	.000
	Korean-Dominant Identity	40	3.48_a	1.24			
	American-Dominant Id.	17	3.00	1.54			
	Low Cultural Identity	33	2.88	1.52			
SNS	Bicultural Identity	31	2.45	1.71	3, 117	.99	.401
	Korean-Dominant Identity	40	2.83	1.22			
	American-Dominant Id.	17	2.18	1.42			
	Low Cultural Identity	33	2.52	1.23			
Media	Bicultural Identity	31	3.44	1.32	3, 117	1.70	.171
	Korean-Dominant Identity	40	3.50	1.06			
	American-Dominant Id.	17	2.76	1.40			
	Low Cultural Identity	33	3.29	1.01			
Info	Bicultural Identity	31	2.12_a	1.13	3, 117	4.19	.007
	Korean-Dominant Identity	40	3.02_a	.93			
	American-Dominant Id.	17	2.44	1.34			
	Low Cultural Identity	33	2.75	1.14			
English-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Identity	45	3.62	1.45	3, 154	1.33	.268
	Korean-Dominant Identity	42	3.81	1.17			
	American-Dominant Id.	33	3.21	1.47			
	Low Cultural Identity	38	3.55	1.08			
SNS	Bicultural Identity	45	3.93	1.27	3, 155	1.13	.338
	Korean-Dominant Identity	42	3.57	1.45			
	American-Dominant Id.	33	3.67	1.24			
	Low Cultural Identity	39	3.44	1.17			
Media	Bicultural Identity	45	4.04_a	.96	3, 155	3.18	.026
	Korean-Dominant Identity	42	3.39_a	1.15			
	American-Dominant Id.	33	3.89	1.07			
	Low Cultural Identity	39	3.62	1.04			
Info	Bicultural Identity	45	3.14	1.10	3, 155	.08	.971
	Korean-Dominant Identity	42	3.04	.88			
	American-Dominant Id.	33	3.11	1.18			
	Low Cultural Identity	39	3.12	.95			

Note: Means that share a subscript within an online-activity cluster significantly differ from one another.

Bicultural Knowledge of Values and Norms

As presented in Table 4.14, a significant difference in scores is detected among the four groups by bicultural knowledge of values and norms with use of email and information seeking within Korean-language websites. Post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicate that, for email on Korean-language websites, the Korean-Dominant Knowledge group shows significantly higher scores (M = 3.38) than the American-Dominant Knowledge group (M = 2.00), p = .030. For information seeking on Korean websites, post-hoc tests show that the Korean-Dominant Knowledge group (M = 3.20) significantly scores higher than both the American-Dominant Knowledge group (M = 2.25) and Bicultural Knowledge group (M = 2.31), p = .076 and p = .004, respectively.

Among English-website activities, likelihoods to engage in all activities, except for information seeking, significantly differ by levels of bicultural knowledge. First, in regards to using email within English websites, post-hoc tests find that the Low Cultural Knowledge group (M = 3.10) significantly scores lower than the other three groups: Bicultural Knowledge (M = 4.17), p = .000; Korean-Dominant Knowledge (M = 3.40), p =.025; and American-Dominant Knowledge (M = 3.15), p =.004. Second, when comparing the group scores regarding social networking, the Bicultural Knowledge group's score (M = 4.22) is significantly higher than those of the Low Cultural (M = 3.14), p = .000, and the Korean-Dominant (M = 3.23) Knowledge groups, p = .001. Last, with entertainment media, the Korean-Dominant Knowledge group (M = 3.09) scores significantly lower than all three groups: Low (M = 3.70), p = .055; American-Dominant (M = 4.08), p = .001; and Bicultural (M = 3.97), p = 001.

Table 4.14. Differences in Korean- and English-Website Activities by Levels of Bicultural Knowledge of Values and Norms

		n	*M*	*SD*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Korean-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Knowledge	47	2.72	1.51	3,119	3.10	.030
	Korean-Dominant Know.	34	3.38_{a}	1.44			
	American-Dominant Know.	12	2.00_{a}	1.35			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	30	2.97	1.35			
SNS	Bicultural Knowledge	47	2.64	1.45	3,119	1.44	.234
	Korean-Dominant Know.	34	2.79	1.32			
	American-Dominant Know.	12	1.83	1.19			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	30	2.57	1.45			
Media	Bicultural Knowledge	47	3.40	1.28	3,119	.95	.421
	Korean-Dominant Know.	34	3.44	1.06			
	American-Dominant Know.	12	3.63	1.09			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	30	3.05	1.22			
Info	Bicultural Knowledge	47	2.31_{a}	1.01	3,119	4.81	.003
	Korean-Dominant Know.	34	$3.20_{a,b}$	1.15			
	American-Dominant Know.	12	2.25_{b}	1.38			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	30	2.78	1.14			
English-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Knowledge	58	4.17_{a}	1.11	3, 157	7.80	.000
	Korean-Dominant Know.	35	3.40_{b}	1.40			
	American-Dominant Know.	26	3.15_{c}	1.35			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	42	$3.10_{a,b,c}$	1.21			
SNS	Bicultural Knowledge	58	$4.22_{a,b}$	.99	3, 158	8.45	.000
	Korean-Dominant Know.	35	3.23_{a}	1.44			
	American-Dominant Know.	26	3.77	1.21			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	43	3.14_{b}	1.26			
Media	Bicultural Knowledge	58	3.97_{a}	1.03	3, 158	6.71	.000
	Korean-Dominant Know.	35	$3.09_{a,b,c}$	.98			
	American-Dominant Know.	26	4.08_{b}	.99			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	43	3.70_{c}	1.05			
Info	Bicultural Knowledge	58	2.95	.98	3, 158	1.92	.129
	Korean-Dominant Know.	35	2.89	.94			
	American-Dominant Know.	26	3.14	1.12			
	Low Cultural Knowledge	43	3.34	1.03			

Note: Means that share a subscript within an online-activity cluster significantly differ from one another.

Bicultural Knowledge of Popular Culture

Table 4.15 summarizes the results of the one-way ANOVA tests conducted with the four groups characterized by differing levels of bicultural knowledge regarding Korean and American popular culture, regarding differences in the four online activities within both Korean- and English-language websites. Significant differences are observed across the four groups for all Korean-website activities and all English-website activities.

Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicate that, the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.29) significantly differs from the American-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 1.78) in terms of their higher likelihood to engage in social networking on Korean websites, p = .001. When compared with the Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 2.43), the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group also shows a higher likelihood to engage in social networking via Korean websites, p = .030. When comparing the group differences of using entertainment media on Korean websites, the Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.64) shows a very marginally significant difference from the American-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 2.86), p = .106. The group comparisons for information seeking activities show that a significant difference is found between the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.13) and Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 2.37), p = .020.

As noted above, significant differences among the four groups are found in all activities carried out on English-language websites. First, in regards to using email on English websites, post-hoc tests find that the Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.88) scores higher than the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.15), p =.072.

Second, when comparing the group scores regarding social networking, the Bicultural Knowledge group's score (M = 4.33) is significantly higher than all the other groups: Low Pop Knowledge (M = 3.03), p = .000; Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge (M = 3.50), p = .015; and American-Dominant Pop Knowledge (M = 3.55), p = .017. Third, there are significant differences in likelihoods of using entertainment media on English websites among multiple groups. The Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 4.31) scores significantly higher than the Low Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.41), p = .000, and Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.01), p = .000. The American-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.91) also shows higher likelihood to use entertainment media on English websites than the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group, p = 001. Last, comparisons across the groups in terms of likelihood to seek information on English websites show that the Bicultural Pop Knowledge group (M = 3.39) scores significantly higher than the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group (M = 2.70), p = .016.

Table 4.15. Differences in Korean- and English-Website Activities by Levels of Bicultural Knowledge of Popular Culture

		n	*M*	*SD*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Korean-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Pop Know.	46	2.54	1.46	3, 119	2.59	.056
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	35	3.31_{a}	1.53			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	18	2.56_{a}	1.42			
	Low Pop Knowledge	24	3.21	1.32			
SNS	Bicultural Pop Know.	46	2.43_{a}	1.39	3, 119	5.74	.001
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	35	$3.29_{a,b}$	1.43			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	18	1.78_{b}	1.06			
	Low Pop Knowledge	24	2.46	1.22			
Media	Bicultural Pop Know.	46	3.64_{a}	1.10	3, 119	2.72	.047
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	35	3.44	1.26			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	18	2.86_{a}	1.19			
	Low Pop Knowledge	24	3.02	1.13			
Info	Bicultural Pop Know.	46	2.37_{a}	1.08	3, 119	3.67	.014
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	35	3.13_{a}	1.17			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	18	2.33	1.17			
	Low Pop Knowledge	24	2.81	1.15			
English-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Pop Know.	49	3.88_{a}	1.20	3, 157	3.52	.016
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	34	3.15_{a}	1.50			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	40	3.83	1.13			
	Low Pop Knowledge	38	3.24	1.34			
SNS	Bicultural Pop Know.	49	$4.33_{a,b,c}$	.72	3, 158	8.96	.000
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	34	3.50_{a}	1.56			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	40	3.55_{b}	1.28			
	Low Pop Knowledge	39	3.03_{c}	1.25			
Media	Bicultural Pop Know.	49	$4.31_{a,b}$	.71	3, 158	14.05	.000
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	34	$3.01_{a,c}$	1.32			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	40	3.91_{c}	.88			
	Low Pop Knowledge	39	3.41_{b}	.95			
Info	Bicultural Pop Know.	49	3.39_{a}	1.06	3, 158	3.12	.028
	Korean-Dom. Pop Know.	34	2.70_{a}	1.04			
	American-Dom. Pop Know.	40	3.13	1.00			
	Low Pop Knowledge	39	3.09	.89			

Note: Means that share a subscript within an online-activity cluster significantly differ from one another.

Bilingual Proficiency

Table 4.16 summarizes the results of the one-way ANOVA tests conducted with the four groups characterized by differing levels of bilingual proficiency, regarding differences in the four online activities within both Korean- and English-language websites. The only statistically significant difference is found among the groups in terms of their likelihoods to engage in social networking on Korean websites. Bonferroni post-hoc tests of the four groups indicate that the Bilingual Competence group (M = 3.32) scores a significantly higher score than the two relatively monolingual groups: Korean-Dominant Language group (M = 2.24), p = .008; and English-Dominant Language group (M = 2.39), p = .033.

Table 4.16. Differences in Korean- and English-Website Activities by Levels of Bilingual Proficiency

		n	*M*	*SD*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Korean-Language Websites							
Email	Bilingual Proficiency	31	3.35	1.40	3, 119	2.03	.113
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	37	2.76	1.46			
	English-Dominant Prof.	36	2.53	1.61			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	19	3.11	1.20			
SNS	Bilingual Proficiency	31	$3.32_{a,b}$	1.51	3, 119	4.22	.007
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	37	2.24_{a}	1.06			
	English-Dominant Prof.	36	2.39_{b}	1.48			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	19	2.42	1.30			
Media	Bilingual Proficiency	31	3.52	1.15	3, 119	.45	.720
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	37	3.41	1.19			
	English-Dominant Prof.	36	3.22	1.26			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	19	3.21	1.18			
Info	Bilingual Proficiency	31	2.78	1.23	3, 119	.61	.607
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	37	2.52	1.08			
	English-Dominant Prof.	36	2.59	1.28			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	19	2.91	1.03			
English-Language Websites							
Email	Bilingual Proficiency	35	3.91	1.36	3, 157	2.22	.088
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	46	3.72	1.11			
	English-Dominant Prof.	55	3.38	1.42			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	25	3.16	1.28			
SNS	Bilingual Proficiency	35	3.91	1.38	3, 158	1.43	.236
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	46	3.59	1.22			
	English-Dominant Prof.	56	3.71	1.30			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	25	3.24	1.20			
Media	Bilingual Proficiency	35	3.64	1.22	3, 158	.47	.706
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	46	3.85	.94			
	English-Dominant Prof.	56	3.74	1.16			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	25	3.56	.91			
Info	Bilingual Proficiency	35	3.40	1.12	3, 158	1.27	.286
	Korean-Dominant Prof.	46	2.97	.89			
	English-Dominant Prof.	56	3.04	1.13			
	Low Linguistic Prof.	25	3.09	.79			

Note: Means that share a subscript within an online-activity cluster significantly differ from one another.

Bicultural Social Support

Table 4.17 presents the test results of the one-way ANOVA conducted to detect differences in culture-specific online activities by levels of bicultural social support. A review of these results shows that, with Korean websites, there are significant differences among the four groups in terms of emailing and seeking information. There are additional significant differences with the activities that take place within English websites; differences across the groups are found with likelihoods to email, to network, and to use entertainment media.

Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicate that the Low Cultural Support group shows significantly higher scores than the Bicultural Support group for emailing (M = 3.48 and M = 2.60, respectively, p = .074) as well as for information seeking (M = 3.25 and M = 2.28, respectively, p = .003) on Korean websites. More differences are found between the same groups in terms of their activities on English websites. Specifically, the Low Cultural Support group scores significantly lower than the Bicultural Support group in regards to using email (M = 3.00 and M = 3.89, respectively, p = .012), social networking (M = 3.13 and M = 3.98, respectively, p = .011), and using entertainment media (M = 3.28 and M = 3.93, respectively, p = .027) on English sites. Further in regards to using entertainment media on English websites, the Low Cultural Support group also scores significantly lower than the Non-Korean-Dominant Support group (M = 3.96), p =. 046.

Table 4.17. Differences in Korean- and English-Website Activities by Levels of Bicultural Social Support

		n	*M*	*SD*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Korean-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Support	48	2.60_{a}	1.47	3, 116	2.39	.072
	Korean-Dominant Support	22	2.95	1.17			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	23	2.65	1.47			
	Low Cultural Support	27	3.48_{a}	1.53			
SNS	Bicultural Support	48	2.46	1.43	3, 116	1.75	.160
	Korean-Dominant Support	22	2.77	1.51			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	23	2.13	1.14			
	Low Cultural Support	27	2.96	1.40			
Media	Bicultural Support	48	3.40	1.25	3, 116	.87	.460
	Korean-Dominant Support	22	3.39	1.31			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	23	3.02	1.14			
	Low Cultural Support	27	3.56	1.05			
Info	Bicultural Support	48	2.28_{a}	1.07	3, 116	4.43	.005
	Korean-Dominant Support	22	2.68	1.17			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	23	2.58	.95			
	Low Cultural Support	27	3.25_{a}	1.23			
English-Language Websites							
Email	Bicultural Support	64	3.89_{a}	1.29	3, 153	3.37	.020
	Korean-Dominant Support	25	3.48	1.33			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	37	3.54	1.28			
	Low Cultural Support	31	3.00_{a}	1.29			
SNS	Bicultural Support	64	3.98_{a}	1.15	3, 154	3.66	.014
	Korean-Dominant Support	25	3.68	1.44			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	37	3.46	1.28			
	Low Cultural Support	32	3.13_{a}	1.29			
Media	Bicultural Support	64	3.93_{a}	1.10	3, 154	3.79	.012
	Korean-Dominant Support	25	3.50	1.17			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	37	3.96_{b}	.78			
	Low Cultural Support	32	$3.28_{a,b}$	1.07			
Info	Bicultural Support	64	3.09	1.12	3, 154	.29	.836
	Korean-Dominant Support	25	3.03	.82			
	Non-Korean-Dom. Support	37	3.22	.92			
	Low Cultural Support	32	3.01	1.09			

Note: Means that share a subscript within an online-activity cluster significantly differ from one another.

Chapter 5. Discussion

The analytical goals of this study were multifaceted. First, it attempted to understand the general patterns of Internet use among the understudied population of Korean-American immigrant adolescents. Second, the study attempted to achieve a contextual understanding of Korean adolescents' online media practices by considering the roles of both Korean and American cultural orientations, based on the assumption that the cultural orientations develop and operate independently of each other. In addition, the study conceptualized cultural orientation as being multidimensional, involving five distinct processes: cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, knowledge of popular culture, language proficiency, and cultural social support. In measuring online media practices, a number of different types of online activities—email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking—for both Korean-language websites and English-language websites were considered, based on the assumption that different activities will vary in acculturative demands. While the second goal of this study involved consideration of the independent roles of Korean and American cultural orientations, the third goal involved exploring the roles of the interactions between the two cultural orientations and how they are reflected in the adolescents' online practices. This was achieved by examining how engagement in different types of culture-specific online activities differs according to varying levels of bicultural competence—the ability to be highly oriented in both host and home cultures, simultaneously.

The findings of this study demonstrate that this young Korean immigrant population is highly and actively connected to the online world and that their levels of cultural orientations as well as bicultural competence play a meaningful role in their online media choices and practices. Based on the established theoretical and empirical literature, this chapter discusses these findings in more detail through interpretations of the patterns observed and the implications they raise in terms of our current understanding of adolescent media culture and the role of ethnic-cultural characteristics in media practices.

PATTERNS OF ONLINE ACCESS AND ENGAGEMENT

Online Access

The study findings regarding basic online access show that, for this sample of Korean immigrant adolescents, the Internet is easily accessible from a variety of locations—though most often from home—through a variety of devices. It is quite remarkable that all respondents, regardless of their parents' levels of educational attainment, not only use the Internet but also have access to the Internet at home through a computer. Additionally, the majority of respondents has access to high-speed Internet at home and personally owns other portable Internet-connecting devices, such as mobile phones, hand-held media players, and hand-held game players. Although Internet access has become more common and widespread throughout the US, there is still a large number of adolescents and younger children that are not online or equipped with home access. According to recent nationwide studies conducted between 2008 and 2009, seven

percent of teenagers, ages 12 to 17, still do not use the Internet (Salmond & Purcell, 2011), while 17 percent of youth between ages 8 and 18 do not have Internet access at home (Rideout et al., 2010). The findings of this present study clearly indicate that the Korean immigrant adolescents in this study are a highly privileged group in terms of technology access.

These findings are further noteworthy in that the commonly high level of home access came regardless of parents' levels of education. This is unlike recent national data, which illustrate that teenagers with parents who are not college educated or who earn lower levels of income have fewer opportunities to access the Internet than teenagers of higher educated parents and richer backgrounds (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Rideout et al., 2010; Salmond & Purcell, 2011). This relatively high connectivity among Korean adolescents is not unexpected when considering the strong, positive values that Korean parents place on computers and the Internet (Green, Ortiz, & Lim, 2009; Lim & Soon, 2010) and their willingness to invest highly in opportunities that are believed to support higher quality education for their children (Hwang Y., 2001). Moreover, Korea has long been considered a world leader in terms of ICT ownership and broadband Internet penetration. In 2009, about 86 percent of children ages 3 and 9 used the Internet, while 99.9 percent of those between ages 10 and 19 were online (Korea Communications Commission & Korean Internet & Security Agency, 2010). Therefore, for recent first-generation immigrant families, experiences of coming from a highly connected culture and lifestyle will have strongly influenced their decisions to continue having Internet access at home after immigration.

Considering Korean adolescents' early experiences with the Internet, we see that they do not differ extraordinarily from that of other populations. The findings show that Korean adolescents are introduced to the Internet most often as an elementary school student, with about 87 percent being introduced before the age of 12. The period of initial access is similar to national trends. For example, the Pew Research Center observed that, in 2005, sixty percent of sixth graders and 82 percent of seventh graders were online (Lenhart et al., 2005). Further, although it is alarming that 15 percent of the study respondents report of first using the Internet during their toddler and pre-school years, this may not be a phenomenon necessarily unique to this population. As early as 2003, about half of the children in the US under age 6 were observed to have used a computer and have acquired the basic skills of using a computer independently (Rideout, Vandewater, & Wartella, 2003). During the same year, twenty-three percent of children in nursery school were found to be online (DeBell & Chapman, 2006).

Additionally, about 80 percent of the Korean adolescents say that they first learned how to use the Internet from family members or other acquaintances, while a little less than 7 percent say they first learned from a teacher or class at school. The findings suggest that the majority of Korean immigrant adolescents have close access to people who have some level of technological sophistication. Researchers have argued that access to established Internet users assists initial adoption of the Internet (Korupp & Szydlik, 2005) and that such social support may encourage increased use and advanced skills (DiMaggio & Hargittai, 2001). A number of studies have also illustrated the benefits of having home access (versus school or public access) to a computer during

one's early years of life, in terms of accumulating a broader range and degree of technological skills and experiences (Ching, Basham, & Jang, 2005; La Ferle, Edwards, & Lee, 2000; Murphy & Beggs, 2003). Although the present study did not measure levels of Internet skills or digital literacy, the findings and literature suggest that the Korean adolescents in this study are indeed a privileged population and hold significant potential to accumulate (or may have already accumulated) high levels of online skills and digital literacy.

Meanwhile, the Korean adolescents' high accessibility to Internet connections is reflected in the considerable amount of time they spend online. The study findings show that these adolescents spend the longest amount of time online in comparison to the time they spend with other types of offline media individually. The average of 2.97 hours is quite an extensive length when compared to the national average of 23 minutes observed among teenagers between ages 13 and 19 (Nielsen Company, 2009). Studies have shown that watching TV still takes up more of teenagers' time than being online (La Ferle et al., 2000; Nielsen Company, 2009; Rideout et al., 2010), but this does not seem to be the case for the study's Korean adolescents as they spend only about half the time (M = 1.35 hours) with TV that they spend with the Internet.

Considering that the patterns of online activities tend not to deviate much from previous studies with national samples (as will be further discussed in the section below), it is insufficient to explain the Korean adolescents' time spent online solely through the nature of their online activities. Although empirical evidence has yet to be established, the great amount of time spent online could be explained by the extent and influence of

parental rules regarding Internet use. Parental rules and mediation of media use have been found to affect how and how much children use media, and the degree of having or enforcing these rules tend to differ across racial/ethnic groups, with White children more likely reporting that they have such rules at home (Rideout et al., 2010). It could be that rules and mediation techniques regarding time spent on the Internet are less restrictive or less implemented in Korean families.

However, when considering the "total" amount of daily time Korean adolescents spend "offline" with media (M = 7.16 hours), that time is about 2.5 times larger than their time spent online. This indicates that the majority of their media activities is still dominated by more traditional forms of media. As recent research has suggested, teenagers do not spend as much time online as adults believe (or even, as much as adults do) most particularly due to demands of homework, after-school activities, and the preference for traditional communication tools such as the phone and face-to-face meetings (Lenhart et al., 2005; Nielsen Company, 2009; Thurlow & McKay, 2003).

General Online Activities

The findings regarding the frequencies with which respondents engage in different types of online activities show that listening to music is the most frequent activity. This demonstrates that Korean adolescents' online behaviors are also characterized by common youth-oriented interests, as music has long been observed to be one of the most popular of leisure activities among young people (Louie, 2003; Rideout et al., 2010). This finding is further understandable when considering that music is very

often consumed in the context of multitasking, left playing in the background, while the user engages in other activities, online or offline (Jeong & Fishbein, 2007; Rideout et al., 2010).

Despite the popular attention given to the dominance of online communication activities among teenagers (e.g., Ito et al., 2008; Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Lenhart et al., 2005; Rideout et al., 2010), school-related work—conducting research for homework or school project or visiting school web page for administrative purposes—claims the second most frequent activity online among the respondents of this study. Online communication activities collectively—email, instant messaging, social networking, and blogging—are ranked after school work. However, previous studies differ in measurements of online communication activities and lack measurement of school-related activities that take place online. Therefore, it is difficult to discern whether the higher frequency of school work over communication activities is a general tendency that may be found among other teenage populations or whether it is a distinct pattern found among Korean adolescents, who come from a culture that highly emphasizes educational activities, particularly over other leisure activities.

Unlike previous studies with nationally representative adolescent samples that show playing games to be one of the top online activities (Lenhart et al., 2005), the Korean adolescents in this study engage least frequently in playing games online on a typical day. The traditional, negative perception and stigma that is associated with young children's and adolescents' game-playing among Korean adults and Korean culture in general (Kwon, 2008; Lee D. Y., 2010; Lee S.-J. & Chae, 2007) may partly account for

this lack of game playing. Playing games online requires a considerable investment in time, and it could simply be that Korean adolescents prefer to spend their leisure time doing other offline activities or that they lack leisure time altogether. It is known that Korean adolescents spend a considerable amount of their after-school time attending supplementary academic institutions or private tutoring sessions (Lee D. H., 2010; Zhou & Kim, 2006), a practice extended from the contemporary South Korean emphasis and reliance on private sources of supplementary education. Further, in the case of recent immigrants, having to spend extra time on their school work may take away from game-playing time.

Demographic Predictors of General Online Activities

The findings show that the way in which Korean adolescents engage with the online world is influenced by general youth-specific interests and characteristics as well as individual immigrant histories. Age was the strongest predictor of total time spent online, while it was the most common predictor for individual online activities. US residence to lifetime ratio and gender were also observed to serve as significant predictors for multiple types of online activities. Besides adolescents who had fathers with a post-graduate degree more frequently engaging in school-related online work, parents' education was not found to be associated with either total time spent online or frequency of engaging in other individual activities.

Age. Older adolescents were found to spend more time online than younger adolescents. This is similar to previous studies that have found older teenagers going

online more frequently than younger teenagers (Lenhart et al., 2005). Studies have noted that as teenagers grow older, (a) most of their required activities move online, such as school work and information and processes regarding college admissions, and (b) the interests they cultivate at specific developmental stages encourage them to move online, such as older teenagers' growing needs to bond and belong with their peers encourages the youth to spend more time on instant messaging and social network sites (DeBell & Chapman, 2006; Kent & Facer, 2004; Lenhart et al., 2005). These patterns are exemplified in this study's findings as described below.

Observing the relationships between age and individual online activities, this independent variable was found to be the most common and, for the majority of relationships, the strongest predictor of the different types of activities. On a typical day, older adolescents, compared to younger adolescents, tend to more frequently read and send email, participate in instant messaging, engage in social networking and blogging, listen to music, watch videos, seek information, engage in school work, and buy things or browse for things to buy. The findings, particularly in regards to communication activities, are very consistent with what the Pew Research Center found in their study of US teenagers (Lenhart et al., 2005). These findings not only help explain why older adolescents spend a longer amount of time online than their younger counterpart, they also suggest that Korean adolescents, regardless of the time they have spent in the US, strongly follow media trends that are defined by their general adolescent cohort.

US residence to lifetime ratio. Korean adolescents who have spent greater portions of their lifetime in the US tend to spend more time on the Internet than those

who have spent smaller portions of their lifetime in the US. This is an interesting finding as studies with first generation immigrants have shown that relatively newer immigrants rely more on mass media—particularly television and ethnic media—than longtime or multiple-generation immigrants (Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). This is understandable when considering the great uncertainties recent immigrants face, their uncomfortableness using the host-language, and the small interpersonal support networks they have to rely on. In order to overcome these obstacles, recent immigrants turn to media to gain information for daily survival and to overcome their basic difficulties (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Lee C., 2004; Lum, 1991; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Zhou & Cai, 2002). This study's findings may differ from findings of previous studies due to the differentiated ways in which people engage with online and offline media; patterns found in offline media use may not necessarily be reflected in online media use. Further, as will be discussed below, the findings show that those respondents who have spent longer portions of their lifetime in the US tend to more frequently engage in social networking and blogging activities as well as online video watching activities. These longtime US residents may be spending significant amounts of time on these activities.

The frequency with which a Korean adolescent engages in a number of online activities was also found to be influenced by the proportion of one's lifetime spent in the US. Adolescents who have spent a greater portion of their lifetime in the US, when compared to those who have spent a smaller portion, more frequently engage in social communication and watching videos, while they less frequently use email and conduct

school-related work online. First of all, it is understandable that the less time one has spent in the US, the more frequently one will have to turn to the Internet to complete school-related work.

In terms of email, according to the Pew Research Center (Lenhart et al., 2007), among teenagers, email is the least popular means for online and offline communication combined, with only 14 percent of teenagers reporting that they send email to their friends on a daily basis. Further according to Pew, email is losing ground, while the use of social network sites and instant messaging applications are the preferred online communication channels among teenagers. This could also be the case for Korean adolescents who have spent greater portions of their lives in the US. However, those who are newer to US culture and society may be using email more frequently because they still need or desire to communicate privately with friends and family they left back in Korea. From the particular data analyzed for this study, it is difficult to know exactly with whom the respondents are interacting in their email conversations. But it is known from previous studies that immigrant adolescents do use email to interact with acquaintances abroad (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2009).

In thinking about the patterns regarding social networking and blogging, it could be that those with more experience in the US may feel more comfortable expressing themselves in an online outlet that is relatively more public. Public expression and interactions require strong self-esteem and confidence, and it has been found that those with more experience in a host culture display stronger psychological well-being than newcomers (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987).

Gender. There are no differences between boys and girls in overall computer use or Internet use. This diminishing of the digital gender gap reflects recent national trends (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). However, in terms of specific activities, Korean adolescent boys more frequently engage in online games than girls. These gender differences are consistent with previous studies regarding video games in general (Lenhart et al., 2008; Rideout et al., 2005). Studies have explained that the competitive and achievement-oriented elements of games and their lack of meaningful social interactions are why females feel less attracted to them (Hartmann & Klimmt, 2006). Similarly, studies have observed that, in terms of work styles, women are more interpersonally oriented and that men tend to be more information and task oriented (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Accordingly, the findings of this study show that boys more frequently engage in information seeking than girls, as has been found in many previous studies as well (Thurlow & McKay, 2003).

It also has been commonly understood that females are more likely than males to engage in communication-related activities (Jackson, Ervin, Gardner, & Schmitt, 2001; Lenhart et al., 2005; Roberts, Foehr, & Rideout, 1999; Subrahmanyam et al., 2002; Weiser, 2000). Conversely, in this study, girls no less frequently than boys took part in email, instant messaging, or social communication activities. Recent studies (Jackson et al., 2007; Rideout et al., 2010) have also detected similar findings in terms of likelihoods or frequencies to engage in these activities. However, Rideout and colleagues point to more detailed data that show girls spending longer amounts of time on social network sites than boys, although both groups are equally likely to log in on a typical day.

Therefore, although it is clear that online communication applications are gaining more common ground among boys and girls, it may be too early to conclude that the quality of online communication that takes place is also equal between boys and girls.

Culture-Specific Online Activities

The findings regarding the frequencies with which one visits Korean-language and English-language websites show that Korean adolescents visit English websites more frequently than they do Korean websites. Further, Korean adolescents are much more actively engaged in all measured activities—email, social networking, entertainment media, and information seeking—through English websites than through Korean websites. These findings indicate that although many Korean adolescents do turn to Korean websites for a variety of activities, they still rely much more on English websites. The greater use of English websites is readily comprehensible when considering not only the primary language that adolescents are expected and required to use for school work and the majority of communication in daily life, but also the dominance of the English language online in general (Internet World Stats, 2010), as well as the dominance among youth of US-based social networking and entertainment sites, such as Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, and Hulu (Nielsen Company, 2009).

Demographic Predictors of Culture-Specific Online Activities

The findings regarding culture-specific online activities presented age to be the most common predictor for English-website activities, whereas US residence to lifetime

ratio was found to be the most common predictor for Korean-website activities. Gender and parents' education predicted only a small number of culture-specific activities.

Age. The finding that older adolescents are more likely than younger adolescents to engage in email, social networking, and information seeking on English websites is consistent with the findings above where it was observed that age positively predicted a number of general online activities. As English can be considered the default or primary language of the web, and considering the higher reliance on English websites among these Korean adolescents, the parallel results are not unexpected.

US residence to lifetime ratio. Korean adolescents who have spent smaller portions of their lifetime in the US are more likely to engage in all four activities of email, social networking, entertainment, and information seeking on a Korean website than those who have greater experience in the US. This is similar to previous studies with immigrants that have shown that recent immigrants are more likely to use home-language media, including websites (Chen, 2010; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007), and to communicate with friends or family in the home society (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2009; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2001; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). These patterns may be due to the fact that levels of experience in the US lead to differing levels of cultural orientation. The effects of cultural orientation were explored in the hierarchical regression analyses and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Gender. Girls were found to be more likely than boys to (a) listen to music and watch videos on a Korean website and (b) use email on an English website. First, previous research with Latino and Chinese adolescents in the US has observed that girls

have a stronger preference than boys to watch TV, listen to music, and read magazines in their home languages (Louie, 2003). Louie suggests that such patterns with ethnic media may reflect different pressures placed on boys and girls in terms of acculturation and the greater supervision girls receive in terms of their social and cultural activities. In Louie's study, boys were more likely than girls to have access to media in their bedrooms; therefore she speculates that this may give girls more opportunities to share their media time with their parents, being influenced by their parents' uses of ethnic media. It is plausible that these offline media practices transfer to the online world. As such, many mediating mechanisms may be in place and thus, this relationship requires further inquiry.

Next, girls in general have been found to use email more frequently than boys in the US (Lenhart et al., 2005). US-based, English-language email platforms are commonly used among users in the US, and receiving and producing emails on English-based platforms may not necessarily affect the nature of communication that occurs between the sender and recipient. Therefore, it is possible that this finding is a reflection of girls' overall tendency to prefer, more than boys, email and communication activities. However, it was observed above that gender was not a significant predictor of overall daily frequency of using email. The reason behind the discrepancies are unclear, but may be due to the different ways in which general email use (frequency on typical day) and English email use (likelihood) were measured.

Parents' education. The level of father's or mother's educational attainment was not found to be a consistent predictor for the level of engagement in different Korean- or English-website activities. Only a few activities were predicted by parental education.

First, Korean adolescents who have a father with a high school degree or less were less likely to use a Korean social network site. The correlation between the variables, father's education (HS degree or less) and US residence to lifetime ratio, is positive (r = .16, p = .016). This indicates that it is more likely for Korean adolescents with a father having a high school education or less to have spent greater portions of their lifetime in the US—possibly their entire lifetime. It is likely that these adolescents have fewer personal contacts in Korea, and therefore do not have the need to communicate with someone through a Korean social network site.

Second, Korean adolescents who had post-graduate educated fathers were more likely to use email on an English website than those with fathers of lower education. Third, Korean adolescents who had post-graduate educated mothers were less likely to search for information on an English website than those with mothers of lower education. It is not immediately obvious why such patterns would emerge for these particular activities. What is the condition that highly educated fathers create for their children to get them more involved in email? Could it be that mothers with post-graduate education serve as an alternative information source for adolescents? It is not precisely clear at the moment what the explanation might be, but it is likely that there are mediating variables regarding child-parent relationships or attitudes involved. Further investigation would be required for a clearer understanding. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that, overall, parents' levels of educational attainment do not tend to inform Korean adolescents' culture-specific online activities.

CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS AND CULTURE-SPECIFIC ONLINE ACTIVITIES

The second and third research questions asked about the relationships between (a) Korean cultural orientations and culture-specific online activities, and between (b) American cultural orientations and culture-specific online activities. The findings from the five series of hierarchical regression analyses are summarized below in Table 5.1.

Overall, it is clear that both Korean and American orientations are significantly related to Korean adolescents' culture-specific online activities. That is, the multiple dimensions of both Korean orientation and American orientation were found to have an effect on Korean adolescents' likelihoods to engage in different types of activities on Korean websites and English websites.

Table 5.1. Summary of Findings for Cultural Orientations as Predictors of Culture-Specific Online Activities

Predictor Variables		Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
		Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Korean	Cultural Identity						+		
	Know. Values/Norms					+			
	Know. Pop Culture		+	+			+		
	Language		+			+			
	Support				−				
American	Cultural Identity	−			−		+	+	+
	Know. Values/Norms		−		−	+	+	+	+
	Know. Pop Culture	−	−		−	+	+	+	+
	Language		+						
	Non-Kor. Support					+		+	+

+ Predictor variable significantly, positively predicts the dependent variable.
− Predictor variable significantly, negatively predicts the dependent variable.

As the findings are reviewed more closely, it appears that the mechanisms of cultural orientations are quite complex and that Korean adolescents' online activities are characterized by multiple dynamics. Each type of online activity and the cultural-linguistic context in which it takes place is reflective of differing dimensions of cultural orientations, either Korean or American. The differentiated nature of culture-specific online activities seems to encourage Korean adolescents to adopt aspects of either the host or home culture. This resonates with existing acculturation studies (e.g., Birman et al., 2005; Birman et al., 2002) that have noted the differentiated roles that each dimension of acculturation plays in relation to the different types of life domains experienced by immigrants on a daily basis, such as school, family, peers, and psychological well-being. These differentiated roles of acculturation's multiple dimensions reflect the differing skills and strategies required for each life domain. As with life domains, the findings of this study demonstrate that varied online activities, which take place in different cultural-linguistic contexts, require different cultural attitudes and skills. Ultimately, the findings of this study support the notion that socio-cultural characteristics actively inform Korean immigrant adolescents' media behaviors, in particular, online behaviors.

A number of other general patterns are worthy of note:

(1) When there is a significant relationship between a dimension of Korean orientation and an online activity, the dimension generally tends to *positively* predict Korean-website activities as well as *positively* predict English-website activities.

(2) When there is a significant relationship between a dimension of American orientation and an online activity, the dimension generally tends to *negatively* predict Korean-website activities, while it *positively* predicts English-website activities.

(3) In comparison to Korean orientation, Korean adolescents' levels of American orientation tend to be more commonly related to the different types of culture-specific online activities they take part in. In particular, the dimensions of American identity, knowledge of American values and norms, and knowledge of American popular culture predict the majority of Korean-website and English-website activities.

(4) Many of the significant findings are consistent with previous studies regarding immigrants' media use and its relationship with cultural orientations. However, some of the findings, most particularly in relation to the role of language proficiency, are inconsistent with strongly established understandings.

Korean Orientation and Korean-Website Activities

Previous studies have shown that orientation to home culture, particularly in terms of identification and command of language, is positively associated with use of various types of home-language media, including newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, and Internet news (Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Jeffres, 2000; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998). Surprisingly though, Korean adolescents' levels of Korean orientation were found to be associated with only a small number of Korean-website activities.

First, adolescents who reported higher levels of familiarity with Korean popular culture were found to be more likely than those with lower levels to engage in social networking and to use entertainment media on a Korean website. The finding regarding entertainment media—listening to music and watching videos—is clearly understandable. Considering the nature of Korean social network sites, such as Cyworld and Freechal, may assist us in understanding the finding regarding social networking. Korean social network sites offer extensive access to current information and news regarding Korean pop culture as well as easy access to the personal profiles of Korean celebrities. Therefore, those who are familiar with, and in turn most likely interested in, Korean TV, music, and celebrities may be encouraged to engage in social networking on Korean websites. The similar case may be made for the relationship between knowledge of Korean pop culture and use of entertainment media on Korean websites.

Second, adolescents' who highly rated their Korean language skills were found to be more likely to engage in social networking on Korean websites. The majority of users on Korean social network sites reside in Korea and use Korean as their first or only language (Do, 2011). Thus, the primary language used among users on these sites will be Korean, which may lead to those, who are more confident in their Korean, to either maintain a personal profile or visit others' profiles on these Korean sites.

Third, Korean adolescents who report weak Korean social support in their daily environments were found to be more likely to seek information and news on Korean websites. Co-ethnic acquaintances who are physically and emotionally close can be reliable sources of information for immigrants (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Wong, Yoo, &

Stewart, 2005). In particular, co-ethnic ties serve as sources of information regarding the homeland, and when these sources are not closely accessible, some immigrants turn to home media as an alternative (Lee C., 2004). Similarly, for this study's respondents, Korean peers may serve as strong sources of information in general or of information and news specifically concerning Korea. However, when this Korean support group is perceived to be weak or unsatisfactory to an individual, he/she may turn to Korean websites for the information and news they demand. Meanwhile, those who have a supportive group of Korean friends may rely on those friends for information and news they could otherwise get from a Korean website. It is interesting that lack of social support is reflected in activities that do not involve interpersonal communication (versus email and online social networking), suggesting that individuals' attitudes toward interpersonal communication or psychological characteristics that affect interaction may be involved in the process.

The non-significant findings are also notable. The irrelevance of Korean identity is consistent with Moon and Park's (2007) findings of no significant relationships between Korean immigrant adults' Korean identity and their use of Korean-language media. However, a great number of studies that have investigated similar variables with immigrant populations have observed that affective bonds to one's cultural heritage and use of home or ethnic media are positively associated with each other (Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Miladi, 2006; Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998). Also unlike the findings of this study are previous studies that have found immigrants' use of home-language media being positively associated with their maintenance of general and

cultural knowledge of the home society (Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Ehrkamp, 2005; Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Gillespie, 1995; Lee C., 2004; Zhou & Cai, 2002). All in all, it appears to be that Korean adolescents' Korean-website activities are informed by their familiarity with Korean popular culture more than any other dimension of Korean orientation. This indicates the salience of popular culture in defining Korean adolescents' Korean orientations and further confirms the importance of the youth-typical interest of popular culture in the lives of Korean youth.

Korean Orientation and English-Website Activities

As was the case with Korean-website activities, Korean adolescents' levels of Korean orientation were found to be associated with only a small number of English-website activities, which are all communication-oriented. First, adolescents who reported higher levels of Korean identity are more likely to engage in social networking on an English-language site. Popular English-based social network sites, such as Facebook and MySpace, have achieved a global, multicultural reach and distinctiveness. An individual's ethnic or national cultural identity may become more salient in foreign or multicultural contexts (e.g., in foreign countries or in close proximity of people with diverse cultural backgrounds), as these contexts offer opportunities for individuals to recognize and appreciate the uniqueness of their cultural heritage (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Kashima & Loh, 2006; Sussman, 2002). Further, higher levels of ethnic identity tend to be associated with higher levels of psychological well-being (Roberts R. E. et al., 1999), and higher levels of psychological well-being have been associated with greater use of

social network sites (Valkenburg, Peter, & Schouten, 2006). It is likely that similar dynamics are established between Korean adolescents' Korean identity and their use of English-language social network sites.

Second, those who reported greater familiarity with Korean popular culture are also more likely to be involved in social networking on an English-website. There is a sizeable amount of group pages and profiles devoted to Korean popular culture, including TV shows, music, and celebrities, on social network sites such as Facebook and MySpace. As was explained for the relationship between knowledge of Korean popular culture and social networking on Korean websites, it is possible that the Korean pop culture content that occupies English-language social network sites encourages interested adolescents to log on and subsequently socialize online.

Next, adolescents who assert having greater knowledge of Korean values and norms as well as those who claim to hold stronger Korean language skills are more likely to use email on an English website. The two variables each account for a unique amount of variance in English-website email use, above and beyond the influence of US residence to lifetime ratio. The positive associations between these Korean orientation variables and communication through English-based email systems require some deliberation. Young immigrants who lack English-language skills have been observed to prefer communication through email, over face-to-face or phone interactions, for its efficiency, clarity of communication, and capacity to avoid one's shyness (Chan, 2009, May). However, in this study, levels of English skills were not found to be a significant predictor of English-language email sites. Interpretation is further complicated as we do

not know with whom the online conversation is being held and in which language the conversation is being conducted, regardless of the email system being based in the English language (e.g., Gmail, Hotmail). It may be that the two Korean orientation variables are reflective of other psychological or social characteristics of individuals, such as self-esteem, shyness, attitudes toward online communication, or the size of friends in the US and Korea combined.

American Orientation and Korean-Website Activities

In regards to American orientations and Korean-website activities, the findings showed that American identity, knowledge of American values and norms, and knowledge of American popular culture negatively predicted a number of activities that take place on Korean websites, and that American identity negatively predicts all but one. These findings are consistent with previous studies that have shown that lower levels of orientation or adjustment to the host society, in terms of knowledge, attitudes, or behaviors, are associated with higher levels of home-language media use (Lee I. H., 2005; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Moon & Park, 2007; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Many immigrants who use home or ethnic media have noted that such use helps reduce the everyday stress and isolation they experience of being a foreigner in an unfamiliar territory (Bahk & Jandt, 2004; Keshishian, 2000; Lee C., 2004; Lum, 1991; Rios, 2003), which may also be the case for Korean adolescents who feel less oriented to US culture.

It is noteworthy that proficiency in English predicts social networking on a Korean website and that this association is positive, unlike the direction in which the

other dimensions are associated. That is, Korean adolescents who reported higher levels of English proficiency are more likely to take part in social networking on Korean sites. We may find some clues to interpreting this relationship in studies addressing adolescents' self-esteem. Among immigrants, those who are proficient in English have been found to maintain higher levels of self-esteem than those who lack English skills (Padilla, Cervantes, Maldonado, & Garcia, 1988; Schnittker, 2002). Moreover, recent studies with adolescents and young adults have shown that levels of self-esteem are positively associated with use of social network sites (Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008; Valkenburg et al., 2006). It may be that high self-esteem encourages Korean adolescents to maintain their communication with acquaintances back home and to share their positive daily experiences, whereas those with low self-esteem may shy away from sharing their (most likely to be difficult) experiences in the US with those in Korea. Finally, levels of non-Korean social support were not found to be associated with any of the Korean-website activities, indicating the irrelevance of non-Korean peer groups in Korean adolescents' engagement with Korean-website activities.

American Orientation and English-Website Activities

As presented in Table 5.1, among Korean adolescents, those who display higher levels of American identity, knowledge of American values and norms, and knowledge of American popular culture, and non-Korean social support are generally more likely—than those who display lower levels of the four dimensions, respectively—to engage in the four different types of English-website activities. These findings are generally in

accordance with findings of previous studies. According to a number of studies conducted with immigrants, higher levels of cultural orientation to the host society tend to be related to higher levels of using host media. More specifically, associated with more frequent or intensive use of host media are positive attitudes toward and stronger identification with the host society (Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994), greater knowledge of and familiarity with host society's values and norms (Chaffee et al., 1990; Foner, 1997; Rios, 2003), and greater knowledge of host society's popular culture (Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Elias & Lemish, 2008, 2009). Therefore, this study offers support for previous studies that argue the strong, positive associations between cultural orientations to the host society and host media.

In studies of technology adoption, researchers have found that the social influences of acquaintances have an effect on individuals' attitudes toward and use of technology (Fulk, 1993; Fulk, Schmitz, & Steinfield, 1990). Further, it is well known that adolescents are strongly influenced by the behaviors and interests of their peer groups. Therefore, Korean adolescents who perceive themselves to have strong support circles of non-Korean peers may be more engaged in various activities on English-websites, as that is what they observe their peers to be engaged in and as they would feel the need to participate in the activities common among their peers. Similarly, Elias and Lemish (2009) learned through interviews with Russian adolescents in Israel, that immigrant adolescents purposefully watch host-language TV shows so that they may discuss them with their friends. It is interesting to note though that non-Korean social support does not predict social networking on English websites. This signifies the predominance of online

social networking in the lives of adolescents. It also may be a reflection of the long-distance ties that social network sites help to maintain and of the increasing global reach of US-based social network sites. In other words, those who report weak non-Korean social support may be interacting on an English-language site (e.g., Facebook) with acquaintances who do not reside locally or with acquaintances who reside in Korea.

One way in which the findings deviate from previous studies is that English language proficiency does not predict any of the English-website activities, as was similarly observed with Korean-website activities. Among studies with immigrant adults, it has been consistently observed that immigrants who are more fluent in the host language more often use media in the host language than those who are less fluent (Kim Y. Y., 1977; Lee I. H., 2005; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Stilling, 1997; Sunoo et al., 1980; Ye, 2005). Unlike the other dimensions that make up one's cultural orientation, language proficiency is most likely the only dimension that is more or less compulsory for immigrant adolescents. Their need to learn and to be fluent in the host language is different from that of immigrant adults. For some immigrant adults, it is possible to perform daily tasks entirely in their home language, especially if they live and work within an ethnic enclave (Chiswick & Miller, 1996; Portes, 1993). Therefore, as an immigrant adult, there are ways to get by without having to use the host language. On the other hand, regardless of how fluent one is, use of the English language is required for adolescents as they are in school and as socializing with peers makes up an essential part of their day to day lives. Similarly, for Korean adolescents, the levels of proficiency in

the host language may not be a relevant factor that influences how extensively one will engage in an activity on English websites.

Alternatively, the irrelevance of English may also be explained by the different types and levels of linguistic fluency required in online and offline contexts. Although a face-to-face conversation is directly influenced by a participant's ability to promptly understand the information conveyed and to immediately produce an oral response, communication that takes place online—in the form of reading and sending emails or posting notes, comments, and photos—does not require the same level of proficiency. Further, the language used online is less restricted by pressures of immediate exchange; is more casual, actively incorporating slang, acronyms, and emoticons; and readily embraces grammatically incorrect expressions. As such, engagement with various online activities does not necessarily require rigorous fluency in formal English. Clearly, the language used online and the types and levels of literacy required for online activities are different from those by which schools and broader society evaluate adolescents' academic performance and overall acculturation.

Stronger Relevance of American Orientation

Overall, in comparison to Korean orientation, the different dimensions of American orientation appear to better predict Korean adolescents' levels of engagement in different types of culture-specific online activities. In particular, the dimensions of American identity, knowledge of American values and norms, and knowledge of American popular culture predict the levels of engagement for the majority of Korean-

language and English-language activities. These findings indicate the relative importance of these dimensions in the lives of Korean adolescents, especially in relation to the activities they engage in online as well as the language or cultural context in which these activities take place. Regardless of one's orientation toward the home country, the orientation toward the culture of the society in which one is geographically situated in appears to be most imperative in defining the online media behaviors of this Korean adolescent group. Further, considering the potential reciprocal influences between cultural orientations and culture-specific online activities, we can speculate that one's online activities also greatly assist (or hinder) Korean adolescents' development of American cultural orientation more than they do Korean cultural orientation.

BICULTURAL COMPETENCE AND CULTURE-SPECIFIC ONLINE ACTIVITIES

The final research question of the study explored whether and how Korean immigrant adolescents' levels of bicultural competence are related to their culture-specific activities online. The findings of the ANOVA and post hoc tests are summarized below in Table 5.2. The ANOVA results indicated that for each of the five dimensions of bicultural competence, levels of engagement with particular culture-specific online activities differ across groups of differing levels of bicultural competence. Subsequent post hoc tests further showed that, across all five dimensions, the Bicultural groups were the most distinctive in their culture-specific online activities as they, collectively, displayed the greatest number of differences. Some of the noteworthy findings are discussed below in more detail.

Table 5.2. Summary of Findings for Differences in Culture-Specific Online Activities by Levels of Bicultural Competence

Groups by Bicultural Competence		Korean-Language Websites				English-Language Websites			
		Email	SNS	Media	Info	Email	SNS	Media	Info
Cultural Identity	Bicultural	A−			A−			A+	
	Korean-Dom.	A+			A+			A−	
	American-Dom.								
	Low								
Knowledge of Cultural Values and Norms	Bicultural				A−	A+	AB+	A+	
	Korean-Dom.	A+			AB+	B+	A−	ABC−	
	American-Dom.	A−			B−	C+		B+	
	Low					ABC−	B−	C+	
Knowledge of Popular Culture	Bicultural		A−	A+	A−	A+	ABC+	AB+	A+
	Korean-Dom.		AB+		A+	A−	A−	AC−	A−
	American-Dom.		B−	A−			B−	C+	
	Low						C−	B−	
Language Proficiency	Bilingual		AB+						
	Korean-Dom.		A−						
	American-Dom.		B−						
	Low								
Cultural Social Support	Bicultural	A−			A−	A+	A+	A+	
	Korean-Dom.								
	Non-Korean-Dom.							B+	
	Low	A+			A+	A−	A−	AB−	

Note: Within an online-activity column (per each dimension of bicultural competence), when a group shares a letter with another group, this indicates that the means of the two groups differ on a statistically significant level. Within the groups that share a letter, a plus (+) sign signifies the higher mean, whereas a minus (−) sign signifies the lower mean. For example, in the SNS column within the dimension of Language Proficiency, the Bilingual and Korean-Dominant groups share the letter A; this indicates that the SNS means for the two groups significantly differ. Also, the Bilingual and American-Dominant groups share the letter B; this indicates that the SNS means for these two groups significantly differ. The plus sign next to the Bilingual group's A and B indicates that this group's mean is higher than both the Korean-Dominant (A−) and American-Dominant (B−) groups. The means for all other groups that do not share a letter (including the Korean-Dominant (A) and American-Dominant (B) groups) do not significantly differ from one another.

Bicultural Competence and Korean-Website Activities

As can be observed in Table 5.2, when the likelihood for a Bicultural group—i.e., Bicultural Identity, Bicultural Knowledge of Values and Norms, Bicultural Knowledge of Pop Culture, Bilingual Competence, and Bicultural Support groups—to engage in a particular Korean-website activity was found to be significantly different from that of another group, the Bicultural group had a tendency to show *lower* levels of engagement, with the exception of a couple of instances (i.e., knowledge of popular culture & entertainment media, and language proficiency & social networking). Reviewing the differences in more detail, it is first observed that a Bicultural group was most often found to differ from its respective Korean-Dominant group. This pattern was observed with the dimension of cultural identity and the two knowledge-related dimensions, in regards to a number of Korean-website activities.

As previously reviewed, immigrants who strongly identify with or are knowledgeable about their home culture tend to be active users of home or ethnic media (Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Jeffres, 2000; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998). Based on this understanding alone, we would expect to find no significant differences between a Bicultural group and Korean-Dominant group, as both are characterized by high levels of a corresponding Korean orientation. However, we do not see this in the current findings; rather, a number of cases are observed where a Bicultural group shows significantly lower levels of engagement with an activity than their corresponding Korean-Dominant group. This suggests that even among immigrants with

strong home orientations, media practices can differ according to their degrees of host orientations. The preceding studies did not take into independent consideration the nature of immigrants' orientations to host culture and the roles played by these orientations in their home-language media practices. Alternatively, the findings of this study give us a clearer sense of the interaction between both Korean and American orientations and how it relates to one's use of home-language media. Among those who have high levels of a Korean orientation, those who also have a high level of American orientation appear to be less engaged with particular Korean-language website activities, than those who have low levels of a corresponding American orientation. Relatively oriented to the US in certain dimensions, these Bicultural groups may feel less of a need to engage in particular activities on Korean-based sites when they have access to much more options within English-language sites. On the other hand, the Korean-Dominant group may feel more of a desire to maintain connections with or depend upon cultural-linguistic online settings they are most familiar or comfortable.

Across the three dimensions of bicultural competence in which this aforementioned pattern was observed—cultural identity and the two knowledge dimensions—the Korean-Dominant group was commonly found to display higher likelihoods to seek for information (which includes searching for news of current events, information required for schoolwork, and information on issues hard to discuss with other people) on a Korean site than the corresponding Bicultural group. Research has found that consumption of information-oriented host media (e.g., news, documentaries) is highly associated with higher levels of acculturation to the host society, as compared to

use of entertainment-oriented host media (e.g., soap operas, variety shows) (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Hwang B. & He, 1999; Sunoo et al., 1980). As the use of information media from a specific culture serves as a barometer for acculturation to that culture, than it becomes more understandable that those primarily oriented in Korean culture may be more engaged in information seeking activities on Korean websites, as biculturally oriented individuals will have further options for information seeking on English-websites.

In the dimension of cultural social support, the Bicultural Support group showed significantly lower levels of engagement with email and information seeking than the Low Cultural Support group. In other words, those who perceive the least amount of social support overall, and thus, who may feel the loneliest or least anchored, are more likely to send or read email and more likely to search for information on a Korean website, than those who perceive themselves as having relatively strong support from both Korean and non-Korean peers. First, we must recall that the "Korean" support measured in this study refers to the perceived support received from Koreans residing in the US, and more specifically, those who are easily accessible face-to-face. Therefore, those who have few local and immediately-accessible peers may more likely turn to email in order to communicate with peers or family farther away. It is also understandable that adolescents who feel they have few trustworthy friends close by turn to the Internet for their information needs. But what is the reason behind why these activities take place on Korean-websites? The high positive correlations between American social support and other American orientation domains as well as between

Korean social support and other Korean orientation domains suggests that it may be the effect of the individuals' other cultural-orientation characteristics. Alternatively, it could be that those who are not actively engaged in their peer circles or those who have yet developed full trust toward their peers may be more likely to turn to or remain on email systems or information services not generally used by their cohort. As social influence theory maintains (Fulk et al., 1990), adoption of a particular technology is highly influenced by observations of close acquaintances' uses of the technology.

Opposite to the patterns noted above, within the dimension of language proficiency, the Bilingual group shows *higher* levels of engagement with social networking on Korean websites, as compared to the Korean-Dominant group. In other words, among those proficient in Korean, those who are also relatively fluent in English are more likely to use Korean social network sites than those who perceive their English to be less fluent. As explained above, differing levels of self-esteem levels potentially associated with differing levels of English skills may be an explanation for the differences.

Additionally, the Bicultural group for the dimension of knowledge of popular culture was more likely to use entertainment media on a Korean website than the American-Dominant group. Also, the Bilingual group was more likely to engage in social networking on a Korean site than the English-Dominant group. In these cases, it can be seen that under conditions of similar high levels of American orientation, those who display higher levels of Korean orientation will more likely engage in a certain number of Korean-website activities than those with lower levels of Korean orientation. These

relationships between Bicultural groups and other corresponding groups characterized by less bicultural orientation further points us to the interaction effect that takes place between a number of American and Korean orientations in their relationship with culture-specific online activities, further confirming the independent operations of host and home cultural orientations.

Bicultural Competence and English-Website Activities

Opposite to the patterns observed immediately above, when the likelihood of a Bicultural Competence group to engage in an English-website activity was found to be significantly different from that of another group, the Bicultural group was always found to have *higher* likelihoods of engagement. In particular, these Bicultural groups tended to be more highly engaged in certain activities in comparison to Korean-Dominant and Low Cultural groups. American-Dominant groups also showed higher engagement compared to Korean-Dominant and Low Cultural groups, but across a smaller number of activities than the Bicultural groups.

These findings indicate that being biculturally competent—especially in terms of knowledge and social support—is associated with higher engagement in a diverse range of online activities in the host-language. Considering the common use of English-based websites in schools and the overall dominance of English-based websites and online applications, a Korean adolescent highly competent in both cultures would seem to be at an advantage (over other adolescents who are accustomed to relatively one culture or who lack confidence in both), in terms of online experiences and digital literacy skills

that are tailored to the American context. These observations add another dimension to the current understandings established about the relationship between one's bicultural competence and one's adjustment to the host society. Studies conducted on the association between bicultural competence and acculturation have asserted that individuals fluent in both host and home cultures tend to show higher levels of adjustment to the host society in multiple life domains, such as psychological well-being, school performance, family life, and friendships (Birman, 1998; Birman et al., 2005; Birman et al., 2002; Gomez & Fassinger, 1994). With the findings of this study, we can tentatively add to this list of domains, online experiences and skills, especially those required or expected of in the mainstream American context.

As was the case above with Korean-website activities, for all applicable dimensions of bicultural competence, a Bicultural group was most often found to differ from the corresponding Korean-Dominant group. The significant differences in engagement of online activities between the corresponding two groups were clearly observable in the dimensions of cultural identity, knowledge of cultural values and norms, and knowledge of popular culture. The significant effect of differing levels of bicultural pop knowledge is particularly noteworthy, with the Bicultural Pop Knowledge group being more likely to engage in all four activities than the Korean-Dominant Pop Knowledge group. Moreover, Korean adolescents categorized as having high bicultural identity, possessing greater bicultural knowledge of values and norms, and possessing greater knowledge of both pop cultures, are all more likely to use entertainment media on English-language websites, than their respective Korean-dominant counterparts. These

findings further confirm the integral positions that pop culture and entertainment activities occupy in the lives of adolescents and also suggest that, of the four types of online activities, using entertainment media—music and videos—is most sensitive to the influence of cultural orientations.

On a less frequent but still salient level, Bicultural groups differ from corresponding Low Cultural groups in their levels of engagement with certain online activities. The most pronounced differences are found among the groups categorized by differing levels of Korean and American social support, just as the case was with Korean-website activities. For this dimension of bicultural competence, those who perceive high levels of support from peers of both Korean and non-Korean cultures are more likely to use email, take part in social networking, and use entertainment media on an English website, than those who perceive relatively low levels of support from peers of both cultures. First, the differences found with email and social networking are clearly comprehensible, as these activities essentially involve communication and virtual interaction with peers. The observed differences are also in agreement with what a number of other studies have suggested: that there is a strong, positive correlation between adolescents' online communication and the quantity and quality of friendships (Lee S. J., 2009; Shaw L. H. & Gant, 2004; Valkenburg & Peter, 2007, 2009; Valkenburg et al., 2006).

Next, the difference found in terms of entertainment media between the Bicultural Support group and Low Cultural Support group signifies the general importance of adolescents' desires to be involved in peer culture. We know from many studies that one

of the motivations for youth to go online is to keep up-to-date with popular culture so that they may be knowledgeable of trends that are currently occupying their peer circles (Elias & Lemish, 2009). Therefore, those adolescents who have stronger social support networks may feel the need to update their ongoing cultural knowledge in order to maintain their solid friendships—or, in reverse, it could be that the consumption of entertainment media assists the quality of their peer circles and then, in turn, strengthens the trust granted upon their peers. On a different note, we could also speculate that adolescents, who perceive both their Korean and non-Korean social support to be strong, show higher likelihoods to consume music and video media as they may spend extra time trying to keep up with pop culture from both Korea and the US, both of which are now increasingly available through English-language websites, such as YouTube and MySpace.

Noteworthy Relationships of Non-Significance

Across the five dimensions of cultural orientation, Bicultural Competence groups differed from American-Dominant groups in their levels of engagement with only a couple of online activities (i.e., language proficiency & Korean-website social networking, and knowledge of pop culture & English-website social networking). Thus, overall, culture-specific activities among Korean adolescents who are highly oriented toward American culture tend to be quite similar, regardless of differing levels of Korean orientation. This further confirms the dominance that American orientation has over Korean orientation that we observed above in the discussions concerning RQ2 and RQ3.

Finally, consistent with the lack of contribution found from language proficiency in the hierarchical regression analyses, differing levels of bilingual competence was found to be associated with only social networking in terms of Korean-website activities and associated with none of the English-websites activities. This further substantiates that among this group of Korean adolescents, language proficiency does not play an influential role in defining the different types of online activities engaged.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the young Korean immigrant population is highly and actively connected to the online world. Their online media practices are not only characterized by youth-typical interests but also by their cultural orientations toward and bicultural competence in Korean and American cultures. Collectively, the findings of this study offer both theoretical and methodological implications for research concerned with adolescents' Internet use and literacy as well as the acculturation of immigrants in general. These implications are presented below, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study and recommendations for future research on similar topics.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

First of all, although some aspects of the Korean adolescents' online behaviors were characterized by common youth-oriented interests, the patterns of online access and activities did not always mirror the general patterns observed among adolescent samples of largely cited, national studies—such as those conducted by the Pew Research Center (e.g., Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Lenhart et al., 2005), Kaiser Family Foundation (e.g., Rideout et al., 2010; Rideout et al., 2005), and US Department of Education (DeBell & Chapman, 2006). For example, this group of Korean adolescents spent much larger amounts of time online than observed in previous studies. Further, although these previous studies found parental education to be a strong and consistent predictor of online access and activities, this current study found no differences in access and few differences in activities across adolescents of parents with differing levels of educational

attainment. Additionally, contrary to the popularity of online game playing among other adolescent populations, the Korean adolescents devoted the least of their online time to this activity. The online activities that these adolescents engaged in were also found to occur on both Korean- and English-language websites; existing studies do not identify such nature of adolescents' online destinations.

These differentiated observations highlight the insufficient attention given by previous studies to the online trends of adolescents who belong to less dominant ethnic or racial cultures and the resulting shortcomings of such research. Although previous studies rely on nationally representative samples, ethnic-minority youth who were not of Black or Hispanic backgrounds composed less than 12 percent of the samples. Further, these studies tend to review the differences among White, Black, and Hispanic populations, without detailed consideration of other populations in the sample. Therefore, this study contributes to the current literature on youth and online media by exemplifying the variations and complexities that characterize the landscape of adolescents' online practices. It further emphasizes the need for researchers to diversify their foci in terms of study samples for a more nuanced depiction of online experiences.

Second, this study observed that individuals' demographic characteristics, such as age and US residence to lifetime ratio, and individuals' levels of Korean and American cultural orientations account for significant differences in Korean adolescents' online activities. This exemplifies the variations in online experiences among immigrant adolescent populations of the same cultural heritage—an observation that has not been made in the current literature of youth media. The small number of studies (Bonfadelli et

al., 2007; Louie, 2003) that has examined ethnic-minority teen populations' use of the Internet has primarily been interested in the cross-cultural differences of use across teenagers of different race, ethnicity, or nationality. These studies are limited in that their understanding of cultural differences is reduced to differences in ethnic or national categorization. However, the cross-cultural psychology literature shows that individuals of co-ethnic populations differ in their levels of orientations toward their ethnic and host cultures (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; LaFromboise et al., 1993). Further, the literature on immigrant adult's use of media have long shown that these differences in cultural orientations are reflected in the choices individuals make about using media and in the impacts of using media (e.g., Chaffee et al., 1990; Moon & Park, 2007).

In sum, this study demonstrates the relevance of considering the role of individual ethnic and cultural differences in online behaviors. It further illustrates the shortcomings of collapsing and considering minority ethnic groups as one monolithic "Other" category, and the need to conduct more contextualized research that focuses on co-ethnic populations. By doing so, the study contributes to current understandings of youth's interactions with online media, which tend to focus on collective, overarching patterns. It further lends support to the literature regarding immigrants' cross-cultural adjustment experiences by extending established understanding of the relationships among acculturation, cultural maintenance, and online media use to the immigrant adolescent population.

This brings us to the third point. In this study, the types of cultural attitudes and skills found to be associated with certain online activities were at many times consistent with patterns found among immigrant adults' use of media. For example, mirroring findings of existing research that observe positive associations between levels of acculturation and host media use (e.g., Chaffee et al., 1990; Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994), this study found that higher levels of knowledge regarding American values, norms, and popular culture and higher levels of American identity were associated with higher levels of engagement with a number of English-website activities. Meanwhile, some dimensions, such as proficiency in the Korean and English languages, were not observed to be influential factors in informing Korean adolescents' activities online, although they have been steadily understood as being strongly associated with media use among immigrant adults (e.g., Barrera & Bielby, 2001; Kim Y. Y., 1977; Lee I. H., 2005; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Stilling, 1997). This implies the differentiated dynamics involved in immigrant adolescents' engagement with the online world and the need to consider this population and their media practices independently of immigrant adults.

The particular anomaly in the role of language proficiencies further provides challenges to current efforts that understand language proficiency as a representative acculturative dimension and a meaningful skill required for using media, which has significant impacts on (and is also significantly influenced by) various aspects of adolescents' lives, including their activities online. For example, proficiency in the host language has been found to predict higher levels of school involvement, stronger

relationships with peers of the host society, lower levels of loneliness and overall psychological problems among teens (e.g, Birman et al., 2005; Birman et al., 2002). Nevertheless, the findings of this study suggest that language proficiency may not be a relevant factor when it comes to the particular case of immigrant adolescents' uses of online media. These findings further turn our attention to the different types and levels of linguistic literacy required in online and offline contexts and suggest that proficiency in formal languages may not be the most adequate variable to explore when trying to understand activities online. Therefore, this observation regarding the irrelevance of language proficiency requires further empirical substantiation, but for now directs our attention to the complexities of immigrant adolescents' acculturative experiences and their negotiation of cultural skills involved in engaging with the online world.

Fourth, the findings of this study uphold the value of measuring cultural orientation as a multidimensional process and the value of assessing cultural orientations toward host and home cultures independently of each other. The differing predictive capacity of each individual dimension of Korean and English orientations signify that the dimensions are not interchangeable. It further suggests that studies using a single dimension (e.g., cultural identity only or language proficiency only) to represent the construct of cultural orientation or acculturation (e.g., Lee W. N. & Tse, 1994; Sunoo et al., 1980) or studies that combine items pertaining to different cultural dimensions into one common acculturation scale (e.g., Lee I. H., 2005; Stilling, 1997) limit our understanding of the manifold subtleties involved in cultural processes. The independent measurement of Korean and English orientations also allowed for measurement of

individuals' bicultural competence, while calling attention to the limitations of using acculturation measures that conceptualize Korean and English orientations as essentially being inversely related.

Additionally in regards to the varying independent roles of host and home cultural orientations, we must keep in mind that the multiple dimensions of American orientation better predicted—both positively and negatively—the Korean adolescents' levels of engagement in different online activities within both English-language and Korean-language websites. Although there is a lack of empirical evidence in the literature that commonly suggests that either host or home cultural orientation has more impact than the other for immigrant adolescents, it has been understood that stronger home culture orientation is generally associated with higher engagement in home-culture based activities (e.g., Gezduci & D'Haenens, 2007; Miladi, 2006; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Rios & Gaines Jr., 1998). The higher predicting capacity of American orientation variables signal the relatively important role that Korean adolescents' levels of host culture orientation play in the choices they make in terms of their online activities; or it can signal the relative sensitivity of host culture orientation to the impacts of online activities. By indicating the strong influence of cultural orientation that stems from one's current residence, these findings further imply the high pressures that Korean adolescents may experience in terms of needing to fit in with American culture and the greater attention that adults need to grant in assisting adolescents' adjustment to their current environment. These findings suggest additional points of consideration for researchers studying the internal cultural conflicts of immigrant adolescents and how they negotiate

the demands of both cultures (e.g., Booth et al., 1997; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Saldaina, 1994; Suarez-Orozco C. & Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

Overall, by evidencing (a) the varying roles of the multiple dimensions of both home and host cultural orientations and (b) the differences in media experiences across groups of differing bicultural competence, this study lends empirical support to the bicultural model of cross-cultural adjustment, ultimately challenging the traditional assimilation model to understanding immigrants' experiences. Further, while the bicultural model has conventionally been used to describe the ways in which immigrants adapt to their work and school environments, interact with their family and friends, and negotiate their psychological well-being (LaFromboise et al., 1993), this study extends the application of the model to explaining immigrants' experiences with media.

Fifth, the current study moves away from the general construct of Internet use (i.e., total time spent online) by exploring multiple types of online activities—email, social networking, use of entertainment media, and information seeking—and differentiating between the activities that take place on English-language based and Korean-language based websites. The varying relationships observed between the multiple cultural orientation variables and the multiple culture-specific online activities further suggest that different types of activities, and the cultural-linguistic context in which they take place, invoke different types of acculturative attitudes and skills. All in all, the findings consistently provide support for the notion that general constructs of Internet use, of cultural orientation or acculturation, and even general constructs of immigrants and

adolescents miss important and substantial differences that may produce misleading or incomplete analyses.

Next, the observations made in regards to the relationships between bicultural competence and culture-specific online activities shed light on the potential acculturative advantage of being highly, biculturally competent in different cultural dimensions. Adolescents who displayed high levels of bicultural competence in terms of identity, knowledge of cultures, and social support showed higher levels of engagement with a variety of online activities within English-language websites, especially in comparison with adolescents who were more oriented toward Korean culture. Conversely, compared to these bicultural adolescents, adolescents who were predominantly oriented in Korean culture showed higher levels of engagement in Korean-website activities while they showed lower levels of engagement in English-website activities.

It would be premature to argue that heavier reliance on Korean-language websites over English sites lead to media experiences of lower quality or to more difficulties in adjusting to US life. However, it is clear that adolescents who are biculturally competent in multiple dimensions engage in a more diverse range of online experiences, particularly on English-language websites. Additionally, considering the dominant presence and use of English-based websites and applications online, one who is more highly engaged in the English online world, for a variety of activities, would seem to be at an advantage within the broader American context. An increasing number of scholars are suggesting the potential benefits that high engagement in the online world has for adolescents, in terms of developing technical, communication, social, and creative skills as well as broader and

critical awareness of ethical and political issues (Jenkins, 2007). Moreover, the literature on cross-cultural adjustment has documented the advantages of being biculturally competent, such as having a stronger sense of self-worth and being better adjusted at school (in terms of performance and leadership), at home with the family, and with friends (Birman, 1998; Fernandez-Barrillas & Morrison, 1984; Gomez & Fassinger, 1994). Therefore, we may infer that high engagement with English websites may not only lead to increased competencies that are required to efficiently navigate the online world most occupied and relied upon by mainstream US society, but may also help directly or indirectly promote healthy adjustment to and active participation in overall daily life in US society.

In light of these findings, the theorization that is currently underway in regards to young people's acquisition and application of new digital literacy skills (Ito et al., 2008; Jenkins, 2007) would benefit by considering the roles of cultural orientations and bicultural competence, particularly when attempting to understand the online media practices of ethnic minorities. Further, schools, cultural institutions (e.g., churches, language schools), and parents may want to consider, in their distinctive capacities, devoting more attention to encouraging immigrant youth's development of bicultural orientations, instead of emphasizing the need to fully and only assimilate to host culture. On a final note, taking into consideration the reflexive and reciprocal relationship between media use practices and cultural orientations, the adult community is further encouraged to design and apply academic or cultural activities that fully take advantage of adolescents' interest in and reliance on the Internet.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was conducted with a relatively small number of Korean adolescents who live in regions densely populated by Korean immigrants. Additionally, the majority of the sample resides in cities that house large state universities and that invest highly in ICT development. Therefore, it is likely that their experiences do not represent the diversity of experiences we can expect from the Korean population across the nation. Future research should expand this study to larger samples encompassing Korean populations of different regional contexts, such as from areas of differing levels of Korean density and of technology access. Despite the distinctive role and wide reach of Korean-American churches among Korean immigrants, it would also be ideal to include adolescents who attend churches outside of the Korean immigrant community or who do not attend church at all. It must further be noted that the majority of this study's respondents are of families headed by highly educated parents. Although Korean immigrants in general tend to have higher levels of educational attainment especially in comparison to other non-Asian groups in the US (Le, 2011), future research would benefit from recruiting a larger number of Korean adolescents of less educated parents.

Future studies that incorporate such samples will help better evaluate the generality of the patterns observed in this current study. As noted above, there were several findings that were inconsistent with previous studies conducted with immigrant adults, mostly from cultures other than Korea, and their media use practices. A more representative sample will assist in discerning the generalizability of the findings as well

as identifying and understanding the unique media use patterns of the Korean adolescent population.

Next, the relationships between the multiple dimensions of cultural orientation and the multiple culture-specific online activities were explored through a series of hierarchical regression analyses. These regression analyses considered one dimension of cultural orientation and one type of bicultural online activity at a time. Therefore, although we have learned about how the different dimensions of cultural orientation are individually associated with each online activity, we have yet to take into consideration the associations between the individual cultural orientation variables and how they are collectively related to online activities. Therefore, an additional task for future theory building and research would be the testing of path analysis models that take into account the associations between the five dimensions of cultural orientation and their direct or indirect effects on the different types of culture-specific online activities. Further, the study findings suggested the involvement of other unmeasured variables, such as psychological well-being or academic performance. Therefore, researchers are encouraged to measure these variables and include them in their models so as to test the complex mediated relationships and to offer a more intricate illustration of the dynamics that inform immigrant adolescents' engagement with the Internet.

Additionally, in exploring the associations between the multiple types of bicultural competence and cultural-specific online activities, this study analyzed the mean differences across the four nominal groups that differed in levels of bicultural competence, for each cultural dimension. Beyond such comparisons across the multiple

groups, this study can further be expanded upon by taking advantage of the continuous measurement of the cultural orientation variables and conducting analysis of the patterns displayed within each individual group. Such analysis is expected to provide a closer understanding of the mechanisms in place and may offer more clarified explanations for the patterns observed in this study.

Future research would also benefit by examining the nature of content that is produced and consumed as well as the nature of the relationships that are created and maintained during one's engagement in a certain online activity. Although this study measured for different types of activities for both Korean-language and English-language websites, strictly speaking, the language of a website does not necessarily determine the nature of the content that is being consumed. For example, an adolescent may be logged onto YouTube, but may be watching a video clip from a Korean TV show, or one may be logged onto a Korean music site, such as Soribada, but be listening to American pop. Additionally, one may use MySpace, but primarily communicate with friends in Korea, in the Korean language. Therefore, there are some difficulties equating English websites with the traditional concept of host media and Korean websites with home media. Considering the cultural-linguistic context of the online content itself would help clarify the nature of Korean adolescents' online activities and their relationships with cultural orientations.

Finally, although the varying relationships among Korean and American cultural orientations, bicultural competence, and culture-specific online activities illustrated the differentiated cultural negotiations that take place online, some of the associations were

quite puzzling and difficult to interpret based on the data from the study alone. These difficulties suggest the complementary value of qualitative data, collected either through in-depth interviews or observations of adolescents' activities online. Such data may help clarify the dynamics and processes involved in the confirmed relationships and help identify potential mediating variables that can be included in future studies. Moreover, acculturation and the building of cultural orientation are processes that occur over long periods of time. Further, media practices also evolve over time. Essentially, cultural orientation and media practices will encourage the evolution of one another. Although the current study confirms that levels of online activities are dependent upon levels of cultural orientations and competence, the cross-sectional design of this study limit us from making rigid statements of the causality or reciprocity among these variables. Qualitative data may help explain and establish these relationships as will quantitative longitudinal studies.

Appendix A. Questionnaire

OFFLINE MEDIA USE

On a normal day, about how much time do you spend on the following "offline" media activities? Do NOT include the time you spend on these activities online.

	Hour(s)	and	Minute(s)
- Reading a newspaper (paper hardcopy)	_____		_____
- Reading a book (paper hardcopy)	_____		_____
- Watching TV (including VCR & DVD)	_____		_____
- Listening to music (on your computer, mp3 player, CD player, radio, etc.)	_____		_____
- Using a computer (Think only about your time offline, not using the Internet)	_____		_____

ONLINE ACCESS

Is there a computer at the place where you currently live (ex. at home or dormitory)?

Yes // No

How old were you the FIRST time you used the Internet to email, chat, play games, or surf the web? _____ years old

Who FIRST introduced you to the Internet (ex. how to use email, how to surf the web)? (CIRCLE ONE)

a. Father or mother
b. Brother(s) or sister(s)
c. Friend(s)
d. Teacher(s) (ex. class at school)
e. Myself
f. Someone else: _____

Where do you use the Internet? CHECK ALL the places that you go online from using a computer**.**

☐ At home (where you currently live)
☐ At school
☐ At a friend's or relative's house
☐ At a public library
☐ Someplace else (ex. work, coffee shop): _____

Where do you use the Internet MOST OFTEN? Again, please only think about the time you use a computer to access the Internet. (CIRCLE ONE)

a. At home (where you currently live)
b. At school
c. At a friend's or relative's house
d. At a public library
e. Someplace else (ex. work, coffee shop): _____

What kind of Internet connection, if any, do you have at home? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

☐ Telephone dial-up
☐ Broadband (DSL or cable)
☐ Wireless
☐ I do not know what kind of Internet connection I have at home.
☐ I do not have Internet connection at home.

Do you personally own a mobile phone? Yes // No

(If Yes) What kind of mobile do you own?

a. A "smartphone" (ex. BlackBerry, iPhone, Android)
b. A "regular mobile phone"

The following is a list of hand-held media devices that allow people to go online (ex. to check email, surf the web, play online games). Please CHECK ALL that you personally own.

☐ A "portable media player" that connects to the Internet (ex. iPod Touch, Zune HD, Archos)
☐ A "portable game device" that connects to the Internet (ex. Sony Playstation Portable (PSP), Nintendo DS)

NOT including your time spent on text messaging, how often do you connect to the Internet using your hand-held media device (ex. mobile phone, media player, game device)?

a. Every day
b. A few days a week
c. About once a week
d. Once every few weeks
e. Once every few months
f. Never
g. I do not own any of these devices.

On a normal **day**, about how much time do you spend online (through the computer and other hand-held devices combined)?

_____ hour(s) and _____ minute(s)

GENERAL ONLINE ACTIVITIES

On a normal **day**, how often do you engage in the following online activities (on the computer, mobile phone, or other hand-held device, combined)?

1 = Never
2 = Rarely
3 = Sometimes
4 = Often
5 = Very often

- Send and read email
- Participate in instant messaging
- Update your profile on a social network site (ex. MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, Cyworld)
- Visit others' profiles on a social network site
- Work on your personal web page or blog
- Play games
- Listen to music
- Watch short video clips (ex. clips less than 15 minutes on YouTube or Hulu)
- Watch movies or TV shows (in full)
- Look for information about pop culture and entertainment (ex. info or gossip about movies, TV shows, music, sports, celebrities, etc.)
- Get news about current events (ex. info about the weather, politics, economy, environment, etc.)
- Look for information about issues that are hard to talk about with other people
- Look for information about your hobbies
- Conduct research for homework or school project
- Visit your school web page (to check grades, look up school events, update personal information, etc.)
- Get information about something you might buy or about new products
- Buy things (ex. books, clothing, music)

CULTURAL-SPECIFIC ONLINE ACTIVITIES

How often do you visit websites that are published in the **Korean language** (For example: Daum, Naver, Cyworld, Google Korea, Yahoo Korea, Chosun Ilbo, KBS, MBC, etc.)?

How often do you visit websites that are published in the **English language** (For example: Google, Yahoo, Facebook, MySpace, New York Times, ABC, NBC, etc.)?

a. Every day
b. A few days a week
c. About once a week
d. Once every few weeks
e. Once every few months
f. Never
(If Never, skip next set(s) of questions regarding Korean-//English-language websites.)

Please think about the activities you engage in within **Korean-language websites** (For example: Daum, Naver, Cyworld, Google Korea, Yahoo Korea, Chosun Ilbo, KBS, MBC, etc.). When you are on a **Korean-language website**, how likely are you to be doing the following activities?

Please think about the activities you engage in within **English-language websites** (For example: Google, Yahoo, Facebook, MySpace, New York Times, ABC, NBC, etc.)? When you are on an **English-language website**, how likely are you to be doing the following activities?

1 = Very unlikely
2 = Unlikely
3 = Neither likely nor unlikely
4 = Likely
5 = Very likely

- Sending or reading email
- Updating your personal profile or visiting friends' profiles
- Listening to music
- Watching online video (either short clips, or movies and TV shows in full)
- Looking up information about issues that are hard to talk about with other people
- Conducting research for homework or a school project
- Looking up information about your hobbies
- Looking up news about current events (ex. info about the weather, politics, economy, environment, etc.)
- Looking up information about pop culture and entertainment (ex. info or gossip about movies, TV shows, music, sports, celebrities, etc.)

CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

Cultural Identity

Please answer how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your identity as a Korean and US American.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

- Being Korean//US American plays an important part in my life.
- I feel that I am part of Korean//US American culture.
- I have a strong sense of being Korean//US American.
- I am proud of being Korean//US American.

Knowledge of Cultural Values and Norms & of Popular Culture

How familiar are you with each of the following aspects of Korean//American culture?

1 = Not at all familiar
2 = Unlikely
3 = Neither likely nor unlikely
4 = Likely
5 = Very likely

- The Korean//American way of life
- The ways in which Korean//American adults/seniors expect for me to behave
- The ways in which I am expected to interact with other people during Korean//American parties or social gatherings
- Values that Koreans//Americans place on the family
- Values that Koreans//Americans place on education
- Popular Korean//American television shows
- Popular Korean//American music
- Popular Korean//American celebrities (ex. actors, singers, sports stars)

Language Proficiency

Overall, how would you rate the following aspects of your Korean//English language skills?

1 = Poor
2 = Fair
3 = Good
4 = Very Good
5 = Excellent

- Speaking
- Listening
- Writing
- Reading

Cultural Social Support

Please answer how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the support that you receive from your friends in the US, who are Korean or Korean-American//who are NOT of Korean origin.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

- If I wanted to go out for a day (ex. to the park or to the mall), I would have a HARD time finding a Korean//non-Korean friend to go with me.
- There is a Korean//non-Korean friend that I can turn to for advice about handling problems with my family.
- When I need suggestions on how to deal with a personal problem, I know a Korean//non-Korean friend I can turn to.
- If I had to go out of town for a few weeks, it would be DIFFICULT to find a Korean//non-Korean friend who would take notes for me at school or keep me up to date about school assignments.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Are you male or female? Male // Female

How old are you? _____ years old

What grade are you currently attending at school? Grade 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

In which country were you born?

a. USA
b. Korea
c. Other: _____

(If born outside of USA) How old were you when you moved to the US? _____ years old

What is your father's//mother's educational level?

a. Less than high school degree
b. High school degree (No college education)
c. Some college education (But no degree; did not graduate)
d. College degree or other post-high-school degree
e. Post-graduate degree (ex. Medical, Law, Master's, Doctoral, MBA, etc.)

Which adults do you currently live with? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Father
- ☐ Mother
- ☐ Grandparent(s)
- ☐ Aunt(s) or uncle(s)
- ☐ Adult that is not a relative (Example: family friend or home-stay)
- ☐ I do not live with an adult.
- ☐ Other: _____

Do you live with your brothers and/or sisters, if any?

a. Yes
b. No
c. I am an only child.

Appendix B. Descriptive Statistics of Scales

Table B.1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Standardized Regression Weights for Factors/Items Measuring General Online Activities

Factors and Individual Items		*n*	*M*	*SD*	*β*
Email	Send and read email	165	$3.37_{a,b,c}$	1.21	
IM	Participate in instant messaging	164	$3.34_{a,d,e}$	1.27	
Games	Play games	165	2.90_{f}	1.36	
Music	Listen to music	164	4.07	1.12	
Social Communication (α = .79)		165	$3.15_{b,d}$	1.11	
	Update your profile on a social network site (ex. MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, Cyworld)				.793
	Visit others' profiles on a social network site				.957
	Work on your personal web page or blog				.556
Watching Videos (α = .64)		165	$3.46_{c,e}$	1.07	
	Watch short video clips (ex. clips less than 15 minutes on YouTube or Hulu)				.738
	Watch movies or TV shows (in full)				.643
Information Seeking (α = .78)		165	2.90_{f}	1.02	
	Get news about current events (ex. info about the weather, politics, economy, environment)				.641
	Look for information about issues that are hard to talk about with other people				.961
	Look for information about your hobbies				.628
School-Related Work (α = .69)		165	3.68	1.02	
	Conduct research for homework or school project				.748
	Visit your school web page (to check grades, look up school events, update personal information)				.736
Shopping (α = .73)		165	2.74_{f}	1.12	
	Get information about something you might buy or about new products				.960
	Buy things (ex. books, clothing, music)				.604

Note: Means that share a subscript are not significantly different at $p < .05$, based on paired-samples t-tests among all nine activity variables.

Table B.2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Standardized Regression Weights for Factors/Items Measuring Culture-Specific Online Activities

Factors and Individual Items	Korean-Language Websites (n = 124)			English-Language Website (n = 163)		
	M	*SD*	β	*M*	*SD*	β
Email	2.88	1.48		3.56	1.31	
Send or read email						
Social Networking	2.57	1.40		3.65	1.28	
Update your personal profile or visit friends' profiles						
Entertainment Media (α_{KOR} = .74, α_{ENG} = .69)	3.35	1.19		3.71	1.07	
Listen to music			.939			.745
Watch online video (ex. short clips, movies, TV shows)			.627			.709
Information Seeking (α_{KOR} = .88, α_{ENG} = .81)	2.65	1.17		3.10	1.02	
Look up information about issues that are hard to talk about with other people			.796			.768
Conduct research for homework or a school project			.747			.533
Look up information about your hobbies			.828			.801
Look up news about current events (ex. info about the weather, politics, economy, environment)			.833			.776

Table B.3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Standardized Regression Weights for Factors/Items Measuring Cultural Orientation Dimensions

Factors and Individual Items	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*β*
Korean Identity (α = .92)	162	4.14	0.91	
Being Korean plays an important part in my life.				.835
I feel that I am part of Korean culture.				.844
I have a strong sense of being Korean.				.901
I am proud of being Korean.				.894
American Identity (α = .93)	166	3.52	1.06	
Being US American plays an important part in my life.				.790
I feel that I am part of US American culture.				.873
I have a strong sense of being US American.				.913
I am proud of being US American.				.898
Knowledge of Korean Values and Norms (α = .95)	165	3.84	1.14	
The Korean way of life				.850
The ways in which Korean adults/seniors expect for me to behave				.911
The ways in which I am expected to interact with other people during Korean parties or social gatherings				.854
Values that Koreans place on the family				.952
Values that Koreans place on education				.879
Knowledge of American Values and Norms (α = .93)	165	3.61	0.98	
The American way of life				.818
The ways in which American adults/seniors expect for me to behave				.868
The ways in which I am expected to interact with other people during American parties or social gatherings				.839
Values that Americans place on the family				.866
Values that Americans place on education				.840
Knowledge of Korean Popular Culture (α = .93)	165	3.37	1.33	
Popular Korean television shows				.930
Popular Korean music				.932
Popular Korean celebrities (ex. actors, singers, sports stars)				.868
Knowledge of American Popular Culture (α = .85)	165	3.46	1.03	
Popular American television shows				.794
Popular American music				.837
Popular American celebrities (ex. actors, singers, sports stars)				.791

Table B.3 (continued)

Factors and Individual Items	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*β*
Korean Proficiency (α = .94)	165	3.35	1.28	
Speaking				.885
Listening				.853
Writing				.907
Reading				.934
English Proficiency (α = .95)	165	4.12	1.06	
Speaking				.915
Listening				.860
Writing				.920
Reading				.927
Korean Social Support (α = .94)	167	3.81	1.08	
If I wanted to go out for a day (ex. to the park or to the mall), I would have a hard time finding a Korean(-American) friend to go with me. *(Reverse coded)*				.861
There is a Korean(-American) friend that I can turn to for advice about handling problems with my family.				.891
When I need suggestions on how to deal with a personal problem, I know a Korean(-American) friend I can turn to.				.911
If I had to go out of town for a few weeks, it would be difficult to find a Korean(-American) friend who would take notes for me at school or keep me up to date about school assignments. *(Reverse coded)*				.885
Non-Korean Social Support (α = .96)	162	3.63	1.19	
If I wanted to go out for a day (ex. to the park or to the mall), I would have a hard time finding a non-Korean friend to go with me. *(Reverse coded)*				.888
There is a non-Korean friend that I can turn to for advice about handling problems with my family.				.939
When I need suggestions on how to deal with a personal problem, I know a non-Korean friend I can turn to.				.940
If I had to go out of town for a few weeks, it would be difficult to find a non-Korean friend who would take notes for me at school or keep me up to date about school assignments. *(Reverse coded)*				.870

Appendix C. Correlation Matrix

Table C.1. Correlation among Variables in Hierarchical Regression Analyses

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	1									
2. US Residence to Lifetime ratio	-.13	1								
3. Korean Identity	.07	-.14†	1							
4. American Identity	-.03	.47***	-.09	1						
5. Knowledge of Korean Values/Norms	.27***	-.32***	.51***	-.18*	1					
6. Knowledge of US Values/Norms	.04	.31***	.18*	.51***	.23**	1				
7. Knowledge of Korean Pop Culture	.26**	-.35***	.34***	-.22**	.64***	.07	1			
8. Knowledge of US Pop Culture	.03	.22**	.15	.46***	.12	.69***	.07	1		
9. Korean Language Proficiency	.09	-.33***	.28***	-.10	.50***	.14†	.39***	.19*	1	
10. English Language Proficiency	.09	.18*	.02	.21**	-.10	.16*	.02	.04	-.40***	1
11. Korean Social Support	.16*	.05	.40***	.12	.30***	.24**	.14†	.10	.14†	-.05
12. Non-Korean Social Support	.03	.22**	.13	.36***	.07	.50***	-.06	.42***	.07	.08
13. Email on Korean Websites	-.01	-.47***	.00	-.34***	.04	-.30**	.05	-.36***	.15†	-.05
14. Social Networking on Korean Websites	.12	-.23*	.12	-.10	.13	-.20*	.28**	-.31***	.19*	.09
15. Entertainment Media on Korean Websites	.04	-.19*	.14	-.08	.12	.07	.34***	.05	.18*	-.07
16. Information Seeking on Korean Websites	.13	-.36***	-.01	-.29**	.04	-.33***	.12	-.37***	.07	-.09
17. Email on English Websites	.18*	.03	.13	.02	.31***	.30***	.16*	.23**	.24**	.01
18. Social Networking on English Websites	.25**	.11	.13	.17*	.20*	.33***	.30***	.30***	.05	.10
19. Entertainment Media on English Websites	.10	.19*	-.01	.27***	-.04	.32***	.03	.51***	-.02	.02
20. Information Seeking on English Websites	.32***	-.03	.01	.11	.11	.24**	.13†	.18*	.08	.02

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Table C.1. (continued)

Variables	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Age										
2. US Residence to Lifetime Ratio										
3. Korean Identity										
4. American Identity										
5. Knowledge of Korean Values/Norms										
6. Knowledge of US Values/Norms										
7. Knowledge of Korean Pop Culture										
8. Knowledge of US Pop Culture										
9. Korean Language Proficiency										
10. English Language Proficiency										
11. Korean Social Support	1									
12. Non-Korean Social Support	.23**	1								
13. Email on Korean Websites	-.16	-.22*	1							
14. Social Networking on Korean Websites	-.09	-.19*	.52***	1						
15. Entertainment Media on Korean Websites	.00	-.06	.12	.37***	1					
16. Information Seeking on Korean Websites	-.20*	-.20*	.43***	.57***	.43***	1				
17. Email on English Websites	.13	.22**	.02	-.13	.08	-.04	1			
18. Social Networking on English Websites	.19*	.17*	-.06	.15	.16	-.14†	.27***	1		
19. Entertainment Media on English Websites	.05	.23**	-.22*	-.11	.12	-.18*	.19*	.45***	1	
20. Information Seeking on English Websites	-.03	.15†	.05	.12	.09	.23*	.44***	.27***	.38***	1

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

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